WRITINGS OF THE QUAID-E-AZAM

AHMAD SAEED

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QUAID-E-AZAM

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PREFACE

The creation of Pakistan was nothing but a miracle and the entire credit goes to one man whom history remembers as Quaid-e-Azam. It was all due to the untiring efforts of the Quaid that the Muslims of the sub-continent were able to achieve a homeland of their own. The Quaid not only fought this constitutional battle all alone, but he had to fight on three fronts. He had to deal with the mockery of the British, the henious designs of the Hindus and the baseless arguments of the "Nationalist Muslims." But the combined efforts of all these enemies, with all resources at their disposal could not deter that great leader from achieving his object. He stood like a rock facing the storm. He had unflinching faith in his mission. With his sincerity of purpose he continued to struggle hard until he achieved his goal-Pakistan.

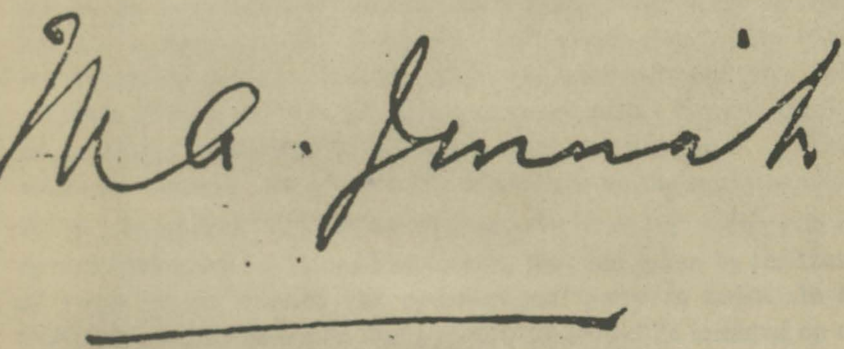
He was the busiest man of the sub-continent. As president of the All India Muslim League he travelled all over sub-continent. This is the main reason that he had too little time to write an autobiography or keep a diary of the political events. In its absence the historian of the sub-continent feels a severe sense of loss. There is a lot of written material in various newspapers and journals but that material is not available to us. An attempt has been made to compile the available writings of the father of the Nation in the present volume. These writings include articles contributed to different newspapers and journals, forewords to various books, two books and some letters of the Quaid. One letter addressed to Kh. Hasan Nizami is of particular importance because it bears the signatures of the Quaid in Urdu. It is probably the only letter of the Quaid with Urdu signatures. This first attempt in this direction, I hope, will be followed by others better equipped and with greater resources.

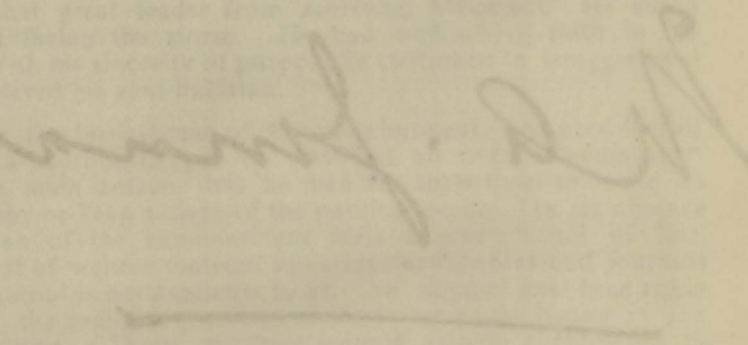
I am much obliged to Syed Shahid Hussain Razzaqi, Mr. Khalid Hasan, Prof. Rahim Bakhsh Shaheen and Sh. Shamsul Haq who were kind enough to provide me with precious material and valuable suggestions,

AHMAD SAEED

Lahore

6-10-76


M. A. Jinnah



1 Re-organizing the India Council :

A bill to reform and reorganize the India Council was introduced in the British Parliament but the House of Lords rejected the bill. The Quaid wrote an article in 1914 in the Fortnightly Review of England protesting the rejection of the said bill In his article the Quaid traced the History of the India Council and vehemently criticised the absence of true Indian representatives in it. He called it a body of the "official class" who were absolutely out of touch with Indian feelings and public opinion. He also analysed the bill and raised some vital objections. He proposed that the India Council should be re-constituted on the lines pointed out by the All-India Muslim League and the Congress. He warned that Indian Public opinion would not be satisfied unless the moderate and reasonable demands of both the "Great" parties were accepted. The Quaid asked the British Government to associate true representatives of India with the council. He showed his resentment on the rejection of the bill by saying that "this act would shake the trust of Indians in the British Parliament". According to him, the step taken by the House of Lords would weaken the constitutional party in India. In the end of this article he hoped that another bill would be initiated on the lines suggested by the Congress and the All-India Muslim League before it is too late. It is interesting to observe that the editor of the Journal in the footnote gave his own remarks about the article in the following words. "This article was written before the beginning of the war and the magnificent proofs of Indian Loyalty".

REORGANISING THE INDIA COUNCIL[1]

A Bill for the better organisation of an important branch of Indian administration was introduced into the House of Lords on May 25th last by the Marquis of Crewe, and after a prolonged debate was rejected on July 7th by ninety-six votes to fifty-eight. The terms of the measure, which appeared to the most responsible and constitutional elements in India to be so moderate as to render

its substance almost valueless, seemed to some noblemen and others of considerable experience and ability to be so outrageously generous and far-reaching as to make England's control of India not worth a moment's purchase if such a deplorable Bill became law. It is unfortunate that many considerations—not the least of them being the bewildering complexities of Indian administration and the differences in the spirit of the people—make it a hard task for the average Englishman to realise why two such opinions, utterly at variance as they are, should be held regarding a measure which looks, on the face of it, extremely simple. In view of the prevailing state of things in India, the change in the outlook of the people, the altered conditions of trade, and so on, it is highly desirable that the English public should know why the spirit of one clause in the Bill made so profound an appeal to all classes of educated Indians—whether Mohammedans or Hindus—and why the rejection of the Council of India Bill (1914) caused so much disappointment to people whose support is so necessary at the present time for the maintenance of India in the British Empire.

Apart from the origin and history of the Council before the Act of 1858, which is now a matter of more or less academic interest, it may be briefly stated that the present Council, which advises the Secretary of State for India in London, consists of not fewer than ten, or more than fourteen members. At the present moment there are ten members of the Council, most of whom are retired Anglo-Indian officials connected with the Administration and Services in India. One or two are City men, usually called "financial experts"; and two are Indians, officials nominated by the Secretary of State for India on the recommendation of the Government of India.

For the first time in the history of the Council, Lord Morley, when he was Secretary of State for India, introduced the practice of having Indian members on the Council; and his grounds for doing so were that he was anxious to get first-hand information on matters relating to India. It was said that the difficulty felt was twofold, (1) partly permanent and unavoidable, viz., that arising from the magnitude and urgency of the questions to be

(1) This article was written before the beginning of the war and the magnificent proofs of India's loyalty.—(Ed. F.R.)

dealt with, and (2) partly accidental and susceptible of remedy, viz., that arising from the disadvantageous position of the Secretary of State for India, who, personally, is without Indian experience, and possesses no machinery enabling him to deal with questions on judicial lines and with full knowledge of facts.

As regards the first, it can only be said that the magnitude and urgency of India's claim will doubtless develop by means of the expanded Legislative Council in India, thus adding to the burden of the Secretary of State. As regards the second, the first important step towards the remedy was one taken by Lord Morley when he admitted Indians into the Council of the Secretary of State, thereby making it possible for him to ascertain the facts and the Indian point of view at first hand. What is now wanted is an arrangement which shall carry out that policy to its logical conclusion and provide means by which Indian Councillors, who shall be accredited representatives of independent Indian public opinion, may be secured. The existing Act, viz., the Act of 1858, has now been in force for more than half a century; and, although the conditions in India have entirely changed since then, the Council of the Secretary of State and its methods and procedure have not been changed, except by the addition of two Indian members who are officials and are nominated by the Secretary of State.

Now, the Secretary of State for India is the highest tribunal of appeal in all matters executive. It is his decision that finally lays down the law in matters of the gravest moment and high policy relating to India—which means by far the greatest part of the British Empire, consisting of 315 millions of people—and his Council, which is mainly advisory and consultative, is composed of one class of men, viz., retired officials who are brought up in a particular groove, and who can but put before the Secretary of State the official point of view. The very questions, however, which the Secretary of State has to decide are questions that often arise owing to the fundamental difference that exists between the official and the non-official views. Supposing, for instance, there is a question at issue between Indian public opinion and Indian official opinion. It comes to London from India for the final judgment of the Secretary of State for India, who naturally seeks the advice of his Council. On the India Council, however, the official class alone is represented by the official members, whose views naturally are more in accord and sympathy with the official

view in India. It follows that official members of the Council, as the advocates of the official view, put before the Secretary of State all their best points, whereas the other side, viz., the non-official, is not represented at all, and the decision goes *ex parte*. The official class are competent as advisers, so far as the official machinery is concerned, but one doubts if even the best of them are in real touch with the trend of independent public opinion in India; and, owing to the excessive amount of desk-work in which they are entangled, they seem in recent years to have lost touch with the feelings and sentiments of the people. The very rules of the service prevent them from having anything to do with political movements in India, except when they have to deal with them from the four corners of their office rooms, and under the official robe.

These were some of the important considerations which, I believe, were pressed upon Lord Crewe and upon Mr. E. S. Montagu, who was not very long ago the Under-Secretary of State for India, and who spent some time in India. This led to an announcement by Lord Crewe in July, 1913, that it was proposed to reform and reorganise the methods and procedure of the India Office. Lord Crewe, in his speech in the House of Lords on July 31st, 1913, said that "he would welcome any criticism or any fresh ideas which might be brought forward." In consequence of that announcement, the responsible public opinion of India, which had for a long time felt keenly the injustice done to India on several occasions by the decisions of the Secretary of State, and the general public opinion which had been clamouring for the total abolition of the Council, concentrated their attention once more on the question whether the Council should be totally abolished, or whether it should be reformed so as to give a real voice to the people of India through their representatives on it. The latter plan, it was believed, would be welcomed by the Secretary of State, because information and a knowledge of the real facts from the point of view of the Indian public, if placed at his disposal, would certainly make him the real master of the situation.

Two of the greatest organisations of public opinion in India, viz., the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League, after most careful consideration, embodied their opinion in the form of resolutions which were passed by both these great

representative political gatherings of the people of India in December last, and their proposals were, in substance, as follows :—

1. That the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the English estimates; the object of this being to give direct and real control to Parliament over the Secretary of State for India.

2. That, with a view to securing the efficient working and independence of the Council, it was expedient that it should be partly nominated and partly elected.

3. That the total number of the Council should not be less than nine.

4. That the *elected* portion of the Council should consist of not less than one-third of the total members, and should be non-official Indians chosen by an electoral college consisting of the elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils. The phrase "elected members" is very important, as we shall see.

5. That not less than one-half of the nominated portion of the Council (*i.e.*, a minimum number of three members) should consist of public men of merit and ability not connected with the Indian Administration.

6. That the remaining portion of the nominated Council should consist of officials who had served in India for not less than ten years and had not been away from India for more than two years.

7. That the character of the Council should be advisory, and not administrative.

8. That the term of office of each member should be five years.

To these proposals may be added one or two other points which are important in this connection : that no distinction of any kind whatsoever should be made between the Indian members and their colleagues on the Council, and that the minutes of dissent, if made by any members of the Council, should be made public on the requisition of any member of Parliament to the Secretary of State for India to that effect, save and except when the Secretary of State might consider it against the public interest to comply with the demand. Further, the Indian National Congress, in response to the expression of Lord Crewe welcoming criticism, appointed a deputation consisting of prominent and responsible

public men in India, chosen from various provinces. This deputation from the Indian National Congress was received by Lord Crewe before he introduced the Bill to amend the law relating to the Council of India. The courtesy and consideration shown to the delegates by Lord Crewe and Mr. Charles Roberts, the present Under-Secretary, cannot but produce a most favourable impression in India. Though their mission has entirely failed, the delegates are personally most grateful for the opportunity given them to place their views before the Secretary of State for India.

On the other hand, the summary rejection by the House of Lords of the Bill which was introduced by Lord Crewe will undoubtedly create a most unfortunate impression in India. One of the strongest of the arguments that were urged by the Opposition for its rejection was that Indian public opinion was opposed to the Bill; but I cannot help saying that this was a gross misrepresentation. Responsible Indian opinion desired improvements in the Bill, and not its destruction in a summary fashion. The Bill was in some respects a minimum amount of concession to Indian suggestions, particularly in so far as it introduced the principle of qualified election. Three important features of the Bill were these:—

1. It was proposed to convert the present optional practice of appointing two Indians to the Council into a statutory requirement.

2. These Indian members were to be selected by the Secretary of State from amongst the persons whose names appeared upon a list of persons domiciled in India, chosen for the purpose by the members (other than the official members) of the Legislative Councils of the Governor-General, the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Chief Commissioners in such a manner, subject to such conditions and restrictions, and in such number as might be prescribed by the regulations to be made by the Secretary of State in Council, or by directions issued by the Secretary of State thereunder.

3. It proposed to enlarge the category of cases which might be dealt with by the Secretary of State in his "secret" department without informing or consulting his Council.

Perhaps it was unfortunate that the last proposal (which was made the centre of attack in the House of Lords, on the ground that it would render the Secretary of State for India an absolute autocrat) should have been mixed up with the other two important

features of the Bill, viz., the statutory appointment of the Indian members and the method of election by which it was proposed to secure the best Indian representatives on the Council. But what enlightened Indian opinion desired was that the Indian members should be elected directly by the elected members only of the various Councils mentioned in the Bill, and *not by the members, other than the official members* of such Councils. As the rejected Bill stood, the electorate included the nominated members, who, though not officials, are yet the nominees of the official class. This point, though most vital, is not quite appreciated by English public opinion, which is not acquainted with the formation and the constitution of the various Legislative Councils in India. These Councils are composed principally of three classes of members :—

1. Officials nominated by the Government.
2. Non-officials, also nominated by the Government.
3. Members elected by various constituencies which have a limited form of franchise granted to them.

Now, the official members were excluded from the proposed electorate, on the principle, I assume, that the Indian members should be elected by the verdict of the independent Indian members. Yet it included nominated members, who are the creations of the official class, and so gave a very potent voice to the official class indirectly, inasmuch as a large number that come under the description of non-official members are nothing but men who have been nominated in the Councils on the recommendation of the official class and by the Government. These men, being the nominees of the Government or the official class, would naturally, as a rule, follow the opinion or the wish of the official class. They are not responsible to any constituency, but depend for their re-nomination at the end of their term entirely upon the pleasure of the official classes and the Government of the Province—and the membership of the Legislative Council is a position which is coveted by many people. The number of such nominated members is as large as 70 out of the total number of about 220 of the non-official members: and they, in all probability would form themselves into a caucus, so if this electorate had to choose a list or panel of thirty or forty it is very probable

that nearly fifty per cent. of the list would consist of the representatives of the official choice and official opinion. If the Secretary of State had to select two or three out of this list, his choice would depend on whose advice he followed: and for all one knows he might select the two out of the number who were chosen on the list by the nominated members of the Council.

It was this fear that influenced Indian opinion to insist—and advisedly insist—that the Indian members should be elected directly by the elected members of Councils only. The root cause of the opposition from India was that it appeared that the Bill took back with one hand what it gave with the other, as it provided the double safeguard or guarantee of the panel, and the inclusion of the nominated members in the constituency. This seemed almost fatal to the very object which the Secretary of State for India himself had at heart, viz., to secure true and independent representatives of Indian public opinion for his Council. Another reason was that the Secretary of State was taking larger authority to himself, known as "secret" powers. This part of the Bill was not quite understood and appreciated in India, as no proper explanation was given as to the reasons that led the Government to make these proposals when the Bill was introduced: but if the country had to choose between an autocratic Secretary of State for India and a Secretary of State surrounded purely by bureaucrats, as at present, I have no doubt that the verdict would go in favour of the autocratic Secretary of State. If concessions are to be made to India, let them be real; and the people of India must be taken into the confidence of Ministers. Indian public opinion, I feel sure, will not be satisfied unless the very moderate and reasonable demands made by the Indian National Congress with regard to the reforming of the Council mentioned above are accepted. Perhaps I may be permitted to make a quotation from a well-known Indian paper, to show what the Press has been thinking there: "As long as the Government of India is not made responsible for its doings to the public in this country, so long is real and effective Parliamentary control over Indian affairs an essential condition of good government. At present the responsibility of the House of Commons is less real than nominal. To endow it with reality the measures that are necessary are, to revive the old system of periodical inquiries into Indian administration, those elaborate and masterly investigations, which led to

fruitful reforms in the days of the East India Company; to provide for the direct representation of India in the House of Commons by about a dozen elected members, and to place the salary of the Secretary of State for India on the British estimates. As for the Council of India, it has been so consistently a citadel of the reactionaries that its abolition will not lead to any kind of regret among Indian Nationalists; in fact, nothing better can happen to that anachronism than to be made a thing of the past. With me there is no mending the Council—it must be ended. So said Mr. Eardley Morton in December, 1894. So say we in 1914."

It seems that there are two alternatives: (1) the Council should be ended; (2) it might be mended. But it cannot last in its present form without serious danger to the good government of India. To have a Cabinet which lays down final decisions on matters of paramount importance, composed purely of officials, forming a bureaucratic citadel, the sacred precincts of which are a bar to the non-official view and the view of the people who are the wearers of the administrative shoe, cannot survive, for India has long since grown out of such crude methods of Government. There are various questions awaiting solution at the hands of the Secretary of State for India now, such as:—

The education of the people, of whom only ten per cent. can read and write. This includes the question of Hindu and Mohammedan Universities, long since pending.

The Public Services, and the admission thereto of the people of the country, with regard to which the Royal Commission which was appointed two years ago will soon publish its report.

The separation of the judicial and executive functions, now pending before the Secretary of State.

Enlargement of the Councils in India and modifications of the rules and regulations promulgated under the 1909 Act, commonly known as the Morley-Minto reforms.

The question of the Press Act.

These and other great questions are awaiting solution. It is the Secretary of State for India who has finally to decide these matters. Now, is it unreasonable or unfair that one-third of his Council should consist of Indian representatives, who can put before him the Indian point of view about these vital questions before he gives his final judgment on momentous problems affect-

ing the destinies of 315 millions of people? In this connection let us not forget that the Council of the Secretary of State is mainly advisory or consultative—not administrative. This is how Sir C. Ilbert, on the "Government of India," describes it :—

"In certain matters, including the expenditure of the revenues of India, orders of the Secretary of State are required by law to obtain the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting of his Council, but in all other matters the Secretary of State can overrule his Council. Whenever there has been a difference of opinion in Council, any member has a right to have his opinion and the reasons for it recorded. The Council is thus in the main a consultative body, without any power of initiation and with a limited power of veto. Even on questions of expenditure where they arise out of previous decisions of the Cabinet, as would usually be the case in matters relating to peace or war or foreign relations, it would be very difficult for the Council to withhold their concurrence from the Secretary of State when he acts as representative and mouthpiece of the Cabinet."

The rejection of the Bill by the House of Lords, and in particular the nature of the opposition to it, will give a rude shock to the faith of the educated classes of India in the British Parliament; for, to quote Lord Morley in support of the Bill: "It is quite true that you will find in the Press, vernacular and otherwise, expressions of Indians adverse to the Bill, but that makes the very case for examining and looking into it, for considering the system and not for taking so precipitate—I think precipitation without parallel—a step as throwing the Bill out. I urge upon the House that to do this in the face of India—it does not matter to you, but it does matter there—and in the face of the expectations that have, rightly or wrongly, been roused, would be—I do not think I use exaggerated language—something like a disaster, and certainly a grave blunder."

In India there are several millions of educated people all over the country who look forward to the ideal of self-government being realised one day. This number is bound to go on increasing by leaps and bounds. Every decade that passes makes an enormous change in India, and the question that has to be considered is whether the Act of 1858, which has been in force substantially for more than half a century, can possibly work with any degree of satisfaction. It has also to be considered whether the old methods of administration, when an Englishman went out to *rule*, can be maintained. The only way to continue the good government of India, and beneficial administration in the interest

of both the people of India and of Great Britain, is by means of co-operation, adjustment, and principles of partnership. This will certainly benefit both. The days when messages of hope and sympathy used to satisfy the people have gone. What is wanted now is deeds. The announcement of his Majesty the King-Emperor, made at the Coronation Durbar at Delhi in 1912, was as follows:—"Finally, I rejoice to have this opportunity of renewing in my own person those assurances which have been given you by my revered predecessors, of the maintenance of your rights and privileges, and of my earnest concern for your welfare, peace, and contentment. May the Divine favour of Providence watch over my people and assist me in my utmost endeavour to promote their happiness and prosperity."

These words are still ringing in the ears of the people of India. In these words of the Sovereign the British nation and Parliament stand pledged. The rejection of the India Council Bill by the House of Lords will go greatly to shake the trust of India in the British Parliament. It will undoubtedly do great harm; and this aspect of the case was most ably pointed out by Lord Crewe and Lord Courtney, but without effect. It will certainly weaken the constitutional party in India, which is the strongest bulwark of British rule. Let us, however, hope that before it is too late, and irreparable mischief is done, the British Cabinet will present another Bill to the House on the lines suggested by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League. There would then be no mistake as to the support it would receive from India. We have friends amongst both the great political parties here, who will stand by us, and the small, but mischievous and reactionary, party will not be able to cloud the issues and misrepresent things as they did, one regrets to state, on this occasion. I, for one, therefore, look forward to seeing such a Bill being again introduced soon and speedily passed by both Houses of Parliament. This would once more justify the trust and confidence which the vast majority of the people of India still repose in the British nation and in the British Parliament.

M. A. Jinnah.

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LORD BIRKENHEAD'S LATEST DECLARATIONS ON INDIA

The Quaid contributed this article to the "Hindustan Review" In 1927 the British Government announced that a commission, led by Sir John Simon, would visit India to enquire into the working of the Government of India Act 1919. As not a single Indian was included in the said commission so the Indians decided not to co-operate with it. Meanwhile, the Secretary of state Lord Birkenhead (whom Maulana Muhammad Ali used to call Lord Brokenhead) tried to justify the exclusion of Indians from the commission and challenged them to frame a constitution. The Quaid wrote an article on Lord Brikenhead's statement condemning the British policy in this regard.

Lord Birkenhead's latest Declarations on India :

By Mr. M.A. Jinnah, M.L A.
(*Leader of the Independent Party*)

Many precedents are there of arbitrary pronouncements made by Secretaries of State for India ; but Lord Birkenhead's speech stands unique in its insolence and shortsightedness. The Commission. which has been inaugurated, comes to India in the guise of benefactors, just as their forbears came many years ago in that commercial guise which, to quote Lord Birkenhead's proud boast, "has frequently in history been the earliest approach to future dominion". The meanest psychologist could tell you, however, that that which has been gained in commercial guise may not indefinitely be retained by political guile, and since his lordship seems to entertain an historical frame of mind, I would refer him to a land of his own clime, whose shores are laved by the waters of the same seas, which through the pursuance of just such an attitude of mind, as was envinced in the Lords' debate, was lost to their country by the purblind policy of jaundiced politicians, and further he may recollect that this very same policy is culminated in the imprisoning of those very men, whom the Cabinet later on were to invite to London to settle the terms of peace.

Ever since the Commission heralded by the Viceroy's statement was announced, we have been accorded a series of distorted arguments interspersed by fulmination and cajolery. The Premier in his speech prophesied an era of darkness for India should she be so ill-advised as to resist the decision of Parliament, and then we were asked to suspend judgment until the full exposition of the case by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Lords. A breathless wait

followed. The climax, however, has proved as disappointing a hoax as was the rest. But neither by the menace of their threats nor by the blandishment of their honeyed words can they lure us into any concurrence. All kinds of iniquitous indictments have been made against India, and imputations cast to discredit her leaders and statesmen, and all this in order to defend the exclusion of Indians from the Commission. Nevertheless, when it came to securing representation for six hundred and odd members of Parliament so as to placate the various parties extant Lord Birkenhead had to collect two peers, a brace of Tories and a couple of Labourites from the Commons and a Liberal in the person of Sir John Simon as an adjunct to temper the fine balance. And yet we are blandly told that the greatest difficulty to the inclusion of Indians arose out of the numerous parties and various minorities whose interest it was their sacred duty to safeguard, and that in order to secure them an adequate representation the increment would be such, as would make the Commission unwieldy !

Tender Solicitude for Depressed Classes

Lord Birkenhead's tender solicitude for the depressed classes is most touching. How heavily the calls and duties of office must rest on his sentient conscience, he alone must know. But we who have read his stirring plea on behalf of the untouchables of India also know that when it suits them, Government are able to find an Indian fully to represent the vast territories and multitude of peoples of India. For instance when the delegate is annually selected to represent India on the League of Nations, the untouchables are neither consulted nor considered. No more are their preferences ascertained regarding the Imperial Conferences which recur so regularly. On such occasions Lord Birkenhead's outraged sensibilities are inarticulate, as the proverbially dumb millions and apparently it has never so far occurred to him to invite a member of that class, "the real India" as he terms it, to represent their country. His lordship has gone into hysterics over the tragic lot of the depressed classes, but the process

of reasoning by which he seeks to help the untouchables through the entire exclusion of Indians is beyond comprehension. Besides, when the committee of the Central Legislature, to which this scheme subscribes, is to be formed, I should like to know by what manner of means this self-appointed champion of the depressed classes proposes to secure their representation. For surely even a Secretary of State should know that the high standard of the prevailing franchise in India debars them from any voice in the Central Legislature.

A Hopelessly Weak Case

Having thus exhausted one plea in disparagement of the inclusion of Indians in the Commission, his lordship shifts his ground and proceeds to picture for us the confusion that would result, were such a suggestion accepted, "Imagine Parliament being assisted by a disclosure of dissenting views of this kind," says he. I fear his lordship's imagination is altogether too spirited to be wholesome, though it may sound plausible in the ears of the British public for whose consumption it was doubtless intended. To impute that there is such a museum of communities and interests in India that it would be impossible to find a few representative Indians whose views would not be so diverse as to preclude them from arriving at a common decision, is grotesque. Besides, does his lordship apprehend that this conflict which he seeks to avoid at the initial and formative stage —if his contention be correct—must arise at a later stage when the committee from India are to sit *vis-a-vis* the Joint Parliamentary Committee? That even a lawyer of Lord Birkenhead's established reputation should be so hard put to it that he has perforce to apply such futile, decrepit arguments to sustain his position only helps to reveal the downright weakness of his case.

"Unbiassed Judgment"

We are told that a Commission consisting of men of such high calibre as have been certified by Lord Birkenhead will command the confidence of all sections of the British Parliament (whether it is

likely to command the confidence of any section of the Indian public does not evidently concern him) that their impartiality and ability is beyond doubt, that they will judge and report according to standards known to Parliament, and that the report which they will submit will be such as "Parliament will be in a position to understand". Does Lord Birkenhead seriously wish to convey that Parliament would be incapable of appreciating a report from any other source but that of its own members ? And finally we are told that their recommendations will be regarded by Parliament as instinctively its own. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that a committee of the Central Legislature, when they meet the Joint Parliamentary Committee, will have the opportunity of "developing any criticism and objections they may feel to the report" and that thereby they are likely to over-ride and substantially modify the recommendations of such a commission. If perchance the function assigned to the Indian committee succeeds, then Parliament would indeed have acted against its own instincts, for it would have abrogated recommendations, which according to Lord Irwin, "it must recognise as "instinctively its own". Moreover, it has been declared by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State and further affirmed by the Premier and Lord Reading that Indians would be incapable of pronouncing an unbiassed judgment in the framing of a constitution for their own country, as they would be carried away by a priori reasoning and the ex-Viceroy, drawing from his past experience, further averred that it would be difficult to find an Indian who "had not already committed himself to some definite veiws, whereas "the selection made is of gentlemen who have had no special experience of India." Of course, I admit that it would be a task amounting almost to the inconceivable to find an eligible ndian of such rare qualifications and never, certainly, would it be possible to unearth one quite so suitably equipped from among the members of the Legislatures, albeit such considerations did not prevent Michael Collins along with Arthur Griffiths and others from being invited to settle in conjunction with the members of the British Cabinet the constitution of what is today known as the Irish Free State. And not even Lord Reading can claim for them those rare attributes, on

the absence of which he founds his justification for denying Indian participation in the framing of a constitution for their Motherland.

A Dangerous Precedent

Lord Birkenhead's inferences are so closely allied to his preferences, that even while speaking as a constitutional lawyer he has no doubt whatever that the framers of the original Act, when they spoke of a Commission, contemplated a parliamentary commission. Surely, Lord Birkenhead has not forgotten that elementary canon of construction that a statute is governed by its words and its words alone, and though it is admitted that "they did not so state in the terms," Lord Birkenhead drawing upon that imagination of his, to which I have already referred above, maintains that "they did not so state it, because they thought it so obvious". Apart from its illegality this is a dangerous precedent to create. If in future statutory Acts are to be interpreted not according to the sense of the words therein, but by vague surmises as to what was presumably in the minds of its authors it would be importing a possibility such as would permit of every existing statute in the realm being travestied. And as a constitutional lawyer, Lord Birkenhead should be the first to realise the folly of taking his stand on such premises.

Real Reason for Exclusion of Indians

Having unarmed us, we are asked whether we should like the British army to be withdrawn Having debarred us from any part in the navy we are asked whether we would like the protection of the navy to be withdrawn. Having after a struggle of fifty years allowed us a third share in the civil service, we are asked whether we should like the civil servants to be withdrawn. As Lord Birkenhead is so anxious to know our desires, we may mention that we would like the Secretary of State and the India Office disbanded and it would be highly appreciated, were the irremovable executive to be withdrawn and replaced by elected representatives responsible to the Legislatures. The absurdity of such an argument confounds itself. Lord

Birkenhead has fitfully forgotten having penned the foreword to it, that the Sandhurst Committee's report dated the 4th November, 1926, remained on the shelf until end of March, 1928. Our difficulty is not that we want to retain them, but how to remove them, even gradually. (I take this opportunity to express my gratitude for the recent generous announcement *re* : the Indian navy, whereby a vacancy had been allotted to one Indian boy) We want to Indianise our services and we want to know whether instead of the main question, which on his own admission he seems to have made a habit of putting to all those Indians "who are at all critical of their (the Government's) attitude," he asked them if they wished for rapid Indianisation. But we are not taken into his lordship's confidence with regard to this matter.

The real reason why Indians are excluded and this parliamentary Commission is decided upon is to be gleaned from those few sentences of a long speech answering the question as to what guarantee there is that these seven men will be unanimous. Lord Birkenhead proceeds thus : "There may not be a unanimous report now, but at any rate we shall have a report which proceeds upon the same general point of view and principle". This jury, advisors or rapporteurs as they have been described at different times as it suited the occasion or the person, have at least a general point of view and principle notwithstanding their "admitted integrity and independence".

It is a pity that the Secretary of State for India did not further dilate upon what was that general point of view and principle of these gentlemen, which have been such a determining factor in the decision of His Majesty's Government. But the British newspapers have fully explained the inwardness and true meaning of it. It is that they have to see that British domination is maintained and continued. I wonder whether this will come or fall within the formula of a priori reasoning or coloured judgment. But it is certainly a task for 'God's Englishmen'.

Constitutional Maladies of India :

This is an article by the Quaid which he contributed to the Journal "Time and Tide" (London) in 1940. In this article also the Quaid condemned the concept of United India. He pressed the British people to realise that Hinduism and Islam represented two distinct and separate civilizations. He proved that the Western Parliamentary system could not work in India, because it would mean perpetuation of the Hindu majority over the Muslims. In his opinion western democracy was totally unsuitable for India and its imposition would not cure her constitutional ills. In this article he discussed the Congress rule (1937-1939) in detail and proved that the Congress wished nothing but the subjugation of Muslim India. He emphasized that while drafting the future constitution of India the consent and approval of the All-India Muslim League must be sought. Primarily addressed to the Western thinkers the article stands as the best exposition of the case for Pakistan.

An article written by Mr. M. A. Jinnah for "TIME and TIDE" dated the 19th January 1940.

The constitutional maladies from which India at present suffers may best be described as symptoms of a disease inherent in the body-politic. Without diagnosing the disease, no understanding of the symptoms is possible and no remedy can suggest itself. Let us, therefore first diagnose the disease, then consider the symptoms and finally arrive at the remedy.

What is the political future of India? The declared aim of the British Government is that India should enjoy Dominion Status in accordance with the Statute of Westminster in the shortest practicable time. In order that this end should be brought about, the British Government, very naturally, would like to see in India the form of democratic constitution it knows best and thinks best, under which the Government of the country is entrusted to one or other political party in acordance with the turn of the elections.

Such, however, is the ignorance about Indian conditions among even the members of the British Parliament that, in spite of all the experience of the past, it is even yet not realized that this form of Government is totally unsuited to India. Democratic systems based on the concept of a homogeneous nation such as England are very definitely not applicable to heterogeneous countries such as India, and this simple fact is the root cause of all of India's constitutional ills.

Even as Under-Secretary of State for India, the late Lt.-Col. Muirhead failed to appreciate this fact for deploring the present communal tension, he expressed the opinion that the tendency on the part of both, those in power and those in opposition, was to consider that what the position now was would be the position always. He deplored the failure of Indians to appreciate an essential feature of democratic Government—namely, the majority and the minority are never permanent, and he therefore, felt that the minorities' opposition to Federation on the assumption that from the outset power would be in the hands of an irremoveble majority was untenable. But he forgot that the whole concept of democracy postulates a single people, divided how-

ever much economically, and he might well have started his study of Indian problems by consulting the report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms (Sessions 1933-34 Vol. 1. para 1):

"India is inhabited by many races.........often as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe. Two thirds of its inhabitants profess Hinduism in one form or another as their religion, over 77 millions are followers of Islams; and the difference between the two is not only of religion in the stricter sense but also of law and culture. They may be said, instead, to represent two distinct and separate civilizations. Hinduism is distinguished by the phenomenon of its caste, which is the basis of its religious and social system, and, save in a very restricted field, remains unaffected by contact with the philosophies of the West; the religion of Islam, on the other hand, is based upon the conception of equality of man"

Perhaps no truest description of India has been compressed into a paragraph, and, without this background, no understanding of Indian problems is possible. The British people must realize that Hinduism and Islam "represent two distinct and separate civilizations" and moreover, are "as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe"

They are in fact two different nations, and if this fact is accepted by no less an authority than the Joint Select Committee, the Muslim people have cause to question the wisdom of the British Government in forcing on India the Western system of democracy without the qualifications and limitations to which the system must be subject to make it at all suitable for Indian conditions.

If, therefore, it is accepted that there is in India a major and a minor nation, it follows that a parliamentary system based on the majority principle must inevitably mean the rule of the major nation. Experience has proved that, whatever the economic and political programme of any political party, the Hindu, as a general rule will vote for his caste-fellow and the Muslim for his co-religionist.

The British people, being Christians, sometimes forget the religious wars of their own history and today consider religion as a private and personal matter between man and God. This can never be the case in Hinduism and Islam, for both these religions are definite social codes

which govern, not so much man's relation with his God, as man's relation with his neighbour. They govern not only his law and culture, but every aspect of his social life, and such religions, essentially exclusive, completely preclude that merging of identity and unity of thought, on which Western democracy is based, and inevitably bring about vertical rather than the horizontal divisions that democracy envisages.

Western democracy is totally unsuited for India and its imposition on India is the disease in the body politic, let us now consider the inevitable symptoms.

Led by an astute Hindu politician of the first rank, Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress (which is mainly a Hindu body) had long foreseen that in the Western form of democracy lay the fulfilment of their hopes of permanent All-India dominance. All their efforts and energies had, therefore, been bent towards securing for India a completely democratic form of Government, and they realized that the new constitution would bring their goal immeasurably nearer if it could be worked on lines chalked out by their leader and the Working Committee.

Therefore, while crying that new constitution was thoroughly unsatisfactory and totally unacceptable, the Congress decided to contest the elections held before its inauguration and as was inevitable, secured complete majorities in the six Hindu provinces of India, namely, Bombay, Madras, U. P., Bihar and Orissa. The Congress however, was as completely defeated in the five Muslim provinces namely Bengal, the Punjab, Sind, the North-West-Frontier Province and Assam, and even in the Hindu provinces failed to capture any appreciable number of seats in non-Hindu constituencies particularly Muslim electorates.

This, undoubtedly was an unsatisfactory situation for a self-styled "national" party, and the exposure of its communal character seemed imminent. Rushing to Wardha for guidance, the Working Committee took stock. What was the position? In five provinces they had been defeated, and while they held a complete majority in six, the Oppositions, weak in numbers though they were, were led by the small but solid blocks of Muslim League members.

This situation had two very unsatisfactory aspects. First, it brought out the completely Hindu composition of the Congress, and secondly, it would be difficult to ignore and override Muslim led Opposi-

tions as long as the Governors of provinces were in possession of special powers granted to safeguard minority interests.

Realizing at once that such circumstance would considerably, hinder their plans, the Congress played its trump card. It refused to accept office. To the consternation of the Muslims and other minorities, vernight, the Viceroy and the Governors, became suppliant. What would the Congress have them do? What assurances did the Congress need? The answer was ready "Give us the undertaking that you will not exercise your special powers, and we will accept office". Hastily, the constitutional guardians of minority and other rights jettisoned their trust, and amidst much mutual appreciation of each other's "statesmanship", the Congress and the British Government came into political alliance.

But there was still that troublesome first point. The whole game would be up if purely Hindu Government took office, and in at least three of the six provinces not a single Muslim had been returned on the Congress ticket, and not more than one or two in the others. But what of it? Surely there must be at least one amongst the Muslim Members who would be unable to resist the bait of a ministership. They would offer the Ministership provided he signed the Congress pledge.

But would the Governor agree to this "camouflage"? What did his instrument of instructions advise? "In making appointments to his Council of Ministers our Governor shall use his best endeavour to select his Ministers in the following manner, that is to say, in consultation with the person who in his judgment is likely to command a stable majority in the legislature to appoint those persons (including, so far as practicable, members of important minority communities) who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the legislature. But in so acting he shall bear constantly in mind the need of fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his Ministers."

Anxiously the Working Committee analysed the implications. The instructions seemed to be in two parts. In the first the Governors were instructed to use "his best endeavours to select" as Ministers "persons (including, as far as practicable, members of important minority communities)......" The spirit underlying these words was clear. It was to secure for important minorities a Minister who commanded their confidence, and since there was no difference in the political programmes

of the Congress and Muslim League Parties in the legislatures, there was no reason why it was not "practicable" for a Muslim League member to be appointed a Minister.

But what about the last line. "But in so acting he shall bear in mind the need for fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his Ministers?" This, fortunately, could be turned to suit their purpose if the Governor was prepared to allow this second part, advisory and subsidiary to the main instuction, to overrule the first.

They had but to claim that joint responsibility was imposible unless the Muslim Minister was prepared to abide by the decisions of the Working Committee, and their point was won. Meekly the Governors acquiesced and in order to allow the Congress to deceive the public by making it appear that it was "national", and looking after the interests of the minorities by including a "representative" of them in the Council of Ministers, accepted as Muslim Ministers individuals who by no stretch of imagination could be regarded as "representatives" of the Muslim community and who by singing the Congress pledge, were responsible to Working Committee alone.

Surprised by such easy victories, the Congress became intoxicated with power. The Working Committee arrogated to itself the position of a parallel Central Government to whom the Provincial Governments were responsible. Regional dictators were appointed and the ministers were entirely subject to their orders generally and no provincial legislation could be enacted without their approval. They then proceeded to stifle even the little opposition that existed. Having dealt with the British, they now dealt with the Muslims.

An India-wide attack on the Muslims was launched. In the five Muslim provinces every attempt was made to defeat the Muslim led coalition Ministries, and by offering local political inducements, Congress Ministries came into power in at least two more provinces, the N. W. F. P. and Assam.

In the six Hindu provinces a "Kulturkampf", was inaugurated. Attempts were made to have *Bande Mataram*, the Congress Party song, recognised as the national anthem; the party flag, recognised as National flag and the real national language, Urdu, supplanted by Hindi. Everywhere oppression commenced and complaints poured in such force into

the Indian States will be abolished! Minority oppositon will be stifled and a great Hindu nation will emerge, governed by its beloved leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and the Congress Working Committee.

We have now considered the disease and the symptoms. What is the remedy?

(1) The British people must realize that unqualified Western democracy is totally unsuited for India and attempts to impose it must cease.

(2) In India, it must be accepted that "party" Government is not suitable and all Goverments, Central or Provincial, must be Governments that represent all sections of the people.

In this connection the All-India Muslim League has laid down the following broad principles:

(1) That the British Government should review and revise the entire problem of India's future constitution *de novo* in the light of the experience gained by the working of the present provincial constitution, and developments that have taken place since 1939 or which may take place hereafter.

(2) While the Muslim League stands for a Free India, it is irrevocably opposed to any Federal objective which must necessarily result in a majority community rule, under the guise of Democracy and a Parliamentary system of Government.

(3) No declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All-India Muslim League, nor any constitution be framed and finally adopted by His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament without such consent and approval.

To conclude, a constitution must be evolved that recognizes that there are in India, two nations who both must share the governance of their common motherland.

In evolving such a constitution, the Muslims are ready to co-operate with the British Government, the Congress or any party so that the present enmities may cease and India may take its place amongst the great countries of the world.

the Muslim League's Central Office that the Pirpur Committee, whose report is available, was appointed to investigate these grievances. Such overwhelming evidence was collected that the Muslims, despairing of the Viceroy and the Governors ever taking action to protect them, have lately been forced to ask for a Royal Commission to investigate their grievances.

Such was the position on the eve of the resignation of the Congress Ministries, a position over which the British people might well ponder. Is it their desire that India should become a totalitarian Hindu State, with the Central and all the Provincial Governments resposible, not to their legislatures or to the electorate but to a caucus unknown to the constitution, the Working Committee of the Congress ? They may be rest assured that such will be the inevitable result if the Congress demand for the right of framing India's constitution through a Constituent Assembly is conceded.

Let us consider briefly the implications of this nebulous and impracticable Constituent Assembly. To commence with, the question arises, why is this demand made at this particular time ? The anwer is obvious. The war is to the Working Committee a heaven sent means of increasing its rule from over eight provinces to over the whole of India, State and Province. If the British Government are stampeded and fall into the trap under stress of the critical situation created by the war, India will face a crisis the result of which no man could prophesy, and I feel certain that Muslim India will never submit to such a position and will be forced to resist it with every means in their power.

And of what type of constitutionalist will this Constituent Assembly consist ? There are in India roughly 400 million souls who, through no fault of their own, are hopelessly illiterate and consequently, priest and caste ridden. They have no real conception of how they are being governed even today, and it is proposed that to the elected representatives of such, should India's future constitution be entrusted. Is it too much to say that since the vast majority of the elected representatives will be illiterate Hindus, the Constituent Assembly will be under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders, and the constitution that will emerge will be as the Working Committee directs ?

Thus, through the Contituent Assembly will the Working Committee attain its ends. British control and commerce will disappear;

Quaid-e-Azam's views on Khilafat Movement and Turkey :

This small passage throws ample light on the Quaid's views on the Khilafat movement and also shows his grave concern on the future of Turkey. This extract has been taken from a Memorial published in the Indian Review (October, 1919).

REVIEW. [OCTOBER 1919

Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

On 5th January, 1918, you, Sir, spoke "not merely the mind of the Government, but of the nation and of the Empire as a whole" that—

Nor are we fighting . . . . . to deprive Turkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race . . . . We do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople.

Now that victory has been achieved, to which the Muslim blood and money have contributed not a little, the Muslims have a right to claim that nothing will be done to whittle down or alter the pledge you gave to the world generally and Muslims in particular in the above words. (*From a Memorial to Mr. Lloyd George signed by Messrs. M. A. Jinnah, Yakub Hassan, Syed Hassan Imam and G. M. Bhurgri.*)

Quaid-e-Azam's views on Montague Chelmsford Reforms :

The Quaid's views on the Montague Chelmsford Reforms has been taken from the Indian Review (August, 1918) and it shows Quaid's dissatisfaction over the proposed Montague Chelmsford Reforms He showed his displeasure over the dyarchy system and suggested that the legislatures should be made all powerful.

The Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

With regard to the Government of India I cannot accept the principle that for the purpose of progressive realisation of responsible government we must confine ourselves to the province as a unit. For this I see no warrant in the announcement of the 20th August, 1917. The procedure laid down in the scheme reduces the Assembly as a whole and the representatives of the people and the Council of State to the position of irresponsible critics, as complained in regard to the Morley-Minto reforms. It is clear that in the most vital matter the demand of the Congress-League scheme is not met, particularly in regard to control over the executive by representatives, fiscal policy and the Budget. I would, therefore, strongly urge that the certificate of the Governor-General-in-Council should not apply except to measures and Bills which affect the peace, tranquillity and safety of the country. All other departments of the Government of India should be left to the legislature, and the decision on all Bills should be final. This is contemplated in the report but a decade is a long period to wait for such advance

Mr. Shahid Hussain Razzaqui's book "Iqbal Aur Siyasiyat". The Quaid paid glowing tributes to the "Philosopher of the National rennaissance of Muslim India".

THE LEADER'S TRIBUTE TO THE SEER

Foreword to "Iqbal Aur Siyasiyat" :

This extract has been taken from the Quaid's foreword to

MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
MALABAR HILL.

State Guest House
Hyderabad Dn

9th August 1941

Every great movement has a philosopher and Iqbal was the philosopher of the National Rennaissance of Muslim India. He, in his works, has left an exhaustive and most valuable legacy behind him and a message not only for the Muslims but for all other nations of the world.

Iqbal was a poet who inspired the Muslims with the spirit and determination to restore to Islam its former glory and although he is no more with us, his memory will grow younger and younger with the progress and development of Muslim India.

———

Following is a foreword by the Quaid-i-Azam to Prof. Muhammad Azam's "Sayyad ul Ambiya" Urdu Translation of Carlyle's "Heroes and Hero Worship".

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.
26th August, 1944.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of August 17th, and I am glad to send you the following few words, as desired by you in the shape of a foreword from me.

I am very glad indeed that you are bringing out a second edition of the Urdu Translation of Carlyle's "Heroes and Hero Worship" Amongst the various works of Carlyle I read this one in English when I was a Student in England, and ever since I have held the sage of chelsea in great admiration. He has done a great service not only to the Musalmans but to the rest of the world in giving an impartial picture and the History of the life and career of our great Prophet, and your venture to have a second edition of the Urdu translation is welcome, and I wish you every success.

I have received the Urdu translation you have sent to me and I thank you for it.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH.

INDIA'S PROBLEM
OF HER
FUTURE CONSTITUTION

★

with preface by
M. A. JINNAH, *President.*
The All-India Muslim League.

PRICE Re. 1/-

This is again a foreword by the Quaid to India's problem of her future constitution. The book was a compilation of articles by various writers. In the preface of the said book the Quaid again falsified the theory that India was a National State. To him India had never been and could never be a National State. He concluded that Indian constitutional problems could only be solved if India was partitioned. An important thing about this preface is that the Quaid while quoting the Lahore Resolution used the words, "independent state" and not states.

Preface

TO those who really wish to examine the problems of India's future constitution, this collection may help. It is with this object in view that I have selected a few of the well considered views in a convenient form of a booklet.

There are in India today four main forces viz., the British, the Indian Princes the Hindus and the Muslims, that are concerned with the future fate and destiny of 400 millions of the peoples who inhabit this vast sub-continent. India has never been, could never be and is not a National State. To contemplate a government of such a vast sub-continent on the basis of one nation and United India, when we know that it is composed of nationalities, is to persue the will-o'-the-wisp. The more the problem is honestly examined, the more one must be driven to the conclusion that the only solution of India's future lies in the division of India. That is why after full and careful deliberations, Muslim India through their only authoritative and representative organisation,—the All-India Muslim League—resolved by their resolution in its full sessions at Lahore on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th March 1940, and laid down the basic principle that geographically contiguous units should be demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute "Independent State" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign; and that adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions, for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This is the way to acheive India's freedom in the quickest possible time and to secure independence from the control and interference of His Majesty's Government and the Parliament; but it does not rule out continuation of relations with Great Britain with necessary adjustments.

I hope that this booklet will make a considerable contribution towards the clarification of the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League which raises a fundamental issue, and I trust that every well wisher of this vast sub-continent will approach the subject free from prejudice, bias and sentiments.

Let us examine this problem also independently of the past notions which have been drilled into us by those who thought their selfish interests would be served best by preaching what does not exist nor is there any real basis for it viz., united India, one nation and one country. It is futile to indulge in such visionary ideals—El Dorado—divorced completely from realities. Statesmanship demands that we should face facts and real basis and shape our course accordingly.

Bombay,
7th October 1940.

M. A. Jinnah

Foreword written by the Quaid to "Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah"

FOREWORD

FOREWORD

The letters which form the subject of this booklet were written to me by the sage, philosopher and national poet of Islam, the late Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, during the period May 1936 to November 1937, a few months before his death. This period synchronises with a very eventful period in the history of Muslim India —between the establishment of the All-India Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board in June 1936 and the great historic sessions at Lucknow in October 1937.

If the Central Parliamentary Board with its Provincial Branches marked the first great attempt on the part of the Muslim League to rally round the Muslim opinion to contest the approaching elections, under the Government of India Act of 1935, for Provincial Legislatures on the League ticket, the Lucknow Sessions indicated the first stage in the reorganisation of the Muslim League on a popular basis and as the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India. Both these high objects were attained in great part owing to the invaluable support that I obtained through the sincere efforts and patriotic and

selfless activities of many friends like Sir Muhammad Iqbal, amongst others. The League gained from strength to strength in this short period. In each of the Provinces where League Parliamentary Board was established and the League parties were constituted we carried away about 60 to 70 per cent of the seats that were contested by the League candidates. Hundreds of District and Primary Leagues were established in almost every Province from the farthest corner of Madras to the North-West Frontier Province.

The League gave a staggering blow to the so-called Muslim Mass Contact Movement which was started by the Congress to disrupt Muslim ranks and to overawe League into submission. The League emerged triumphant in most of the by-elections and shattered the intrigues and machinations of those who hoped to create the impression that the Muslim League Organisation had no support of the Muslim people.

Within eighteen months before the Lucknow Sessions, the League had succeeded in organising Muslims as one party with an advanced and progressive programme and had brought under its influence even those Provinces which for lack of time or preparation had not been sufficiently benefited by the activities of

League Parliamentary Boards. The Lucknow Sessions furnished an unmistakable evidence of the popularity that League commanded among Muslims of all groups and ranks.

It was a great achievement for Muslim League that its lead came to be acknowledged by both the majority and minority Provinces. Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a very conspicuous part, though at the time not revealed to public, in bringing about this consummation. He had his own doubts about Sikandar-Jinnah Pact being carried out and he was anxious to see it translated into some tangible results without delay so as to dispel popular misapprehension about it, but unfortunately he has not lived to see that the Punjab has all round made a remarkable progress and now it is beyond doubt that the Muslims stand solidly behind the Muslim League Organisation.

With this brief historical background in mind, the letters can be read with great interest. It is, however, much to be regretted that my own replies to Iqbal are not available. During the period under reference I worked alone unassisted by the benefit of a personal staff and so did not retain duplicate copies of the numerous letters that I had to dispose of. I made enquiries from the Trustees

of Iqbal's estate at Lahore and was informed that my letters are not traceable. Hence I had no alternative but to publish the letters without my replies as I think these letters are of very great historical importance particularly those which explain his views in clear and unambiguous terms on the political future of Muslim India. His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusions as a result of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India, and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumberated in the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as the "Pakistan Resolution," passed on 23rd March, 1940.

PAKISTAN

AND

MUSLIM INDIA

With a Foreword by Qaid-i-Azam,
Mr. M. A. JINNAH,
President
The All-India Muslim League

HOME STUDY CIRCLE,
Malabar Hill, Bombay.

This is a foreword by the Quaid to Mr. M.R.T.'s book "Pakistan and Muslim India" In the foreword the Quaid describes India a vast sub-continent and terms Indian unity simply a "myth".

FOREWORD

by

Qaid-i-Azam Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah

India of modern conception with its so-called present geographical unity is entirely the creation of the British who hold it as one administrative unit by a system of bureaucratic government whose ultimate sanction is the sword and not the will or the sanction of the people behind the government so established. This position is very much exploited by the Hindu Congress and another Hindu organisation, the Hindu Mahasabha. India is a vast sub-continent. It is neither a country nor a nation. It is composed of nationalities and races, but the two major nations are the Muslims and the Hindus Talk of Indian unity as one central constitutional government of this vast sub-continent is simply a myth.

The differences in India between the two major nations, the Hindus and the Muslims, are a thousand times greater when compared with the continent of Europe. In fact the diversity of its races, religions, cultures and languages has no parallel in any other part of the world; but fortunately the Muslim homelands are in the North Western and Eastern zones of the sub-continent where they are in a solid

majority with a population of nearly 70 millions and they desire that these parts should be separated from the rest of India and constituted into independent sovereign states. The Muslims stand unequivocally for their own freedom and independence and also that of Hindus and the Hindu India in the sub-continent of India, whereas the Hindu machinations and all proposals and schemes suggested by them are intended and calculated to bring a hundred million Muslims under the subjugation and hegemony of the Hindu Raj over the entire sub-continent of India which means that Muslims shall be merely transferring their bondage of slavery from the British Raj to the Hindu Raj. In sheer ignorance or with a view to misguide the foreign opinion deliberately in their own favour, it is urged in these days that India's case has a parallel in China, Soviet Russia or even in the United States of America and that its problems can be successfully tackled in the light of experience gained by the peoples of these countries. A cursory examination of such a plea by any intelligent man will convince him that it is completely misleading to compare India's problems with these countries.

The present books are a collection of articles which had appeared in different newspapers and had thrown a great deal of light on the

Pakistan demand of Muslim India, and hence I agreed to their being collected and published in the form of two books as they explain the Muslim position regarding many of the current political issues which have been agitating the Muslim mind. The author Mr. M R.T. has given his consent that these books should be issued on behalf of the Home Study Circle. He has marshalled facts and figures which are very valuable and he has done a great service already by periodically publishing them in various newspapers. In the first book, entitled 'Pakistan and Muslim India', he has placed in a very impartial way the exposition of many factors which clearly demonstrate that the only solution of India's constitutional problem is by means of partition of India and by accepting the fundamental principles of Pakistan scheme, laid down in the Lahore resolution of the All India Muslim League, passed in March, 1940.

The second book entitled 'Nationalism In Conflict In India', contains the collection of writings of the same author. This will show that India is not a national State, that India is not a country but a sub-continent composed of nationalities, the two major nations being the Hindus and the Muslims whose culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, name and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, laws and jurisprudence, social and moral codes,

customs and calendar. history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, outlook on life and of life are fundamentally different, nay in many respects antagonistic.

Of course the views expressed in these books are of the author and not the official views of the Muslim League or myself. I have undertaken to write this foreward in order to commend these two books to all readers who want to understand the problem of India's future constitution and its solution and I feel confident that anyone who reads them dispossionately and with an open mind will find by the sheer facts and figures and historical and political arguments advanced that partition of India is in the interest of both the major nations, Hindus and Muslims.

M. A. Jinnah.

24th December, 1942
10, Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi.

HISTORY

OF THE ORIGIN

OF

"FOURTEEN POINTS"

BY

M. A. JINNAH

History of the Origin of Fourteen Points :

This booklet, "History of the Origin of Fourteen points", was compiled by the Quaid. The booklet consists of nineteen pages. In the beginning he gave a brief background of the Delhi Muslim proposals, All-Parties conference and Muslim reaction to the Nehru Report.

RECENT HISTORY.

The All India Muslim League defined in three successive sessions in the years 1924, 1925, and 1926, the position of Musalmans in respect of any forthcoming changes in the constitution of the country as follows:—

"The All India Muslim League is of opinion that the present constitution of India must be amended and urges that for this purpose the Government should undertake the revision of the Government of India Act 1919, and without any delay appoint a Royal Commission to formulate, after due enquiry and investigation, a scheme so as to place the Indian constitution on a sound and permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress to establish full responsible Government in India and thereby secure stability in the Government, and the willing co-operation of the people, provided however that for any scheme of the future constitution of India the All India Muslim League reaffirms and unequivocally declares that the following basic and fundamental principles must be secured and guaranteed, viz:—

(1) All Legislatures of the country and other elected bodies shall be consti-

tuted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to an equality.

(2) The representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.

(3) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in in the Punjab, Bengal and N. W. F. Province.

(4) Full religious liberty i. e. liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.

(5) No bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative such other method is devised as may be

found feasible and pr[illegible] deal with such cases.

These proposals were criticised by the Hindu leaders who insisted that we should postulate in our scheme joint electorates with adequate safeguards for rights and interests of Musalmans. Accordingly certain leading representative Mahomedans met at Delhi on 20th March, 1927 and put forward what have come to be known as the Delhi Muslim Proposals which were as follows:—

DELHI MUSLIM PROPOSALS.

" Whether in the forthcoming revision of the Indian constitution elections to legislative bodies should be through joint or separate electorates, has been the subject of anxious discussion among Hindu and Musalman leaders, in Delhi. The Hindu members of the Congress Party and the Nationalist Party, having already decided in favour of only a joint electorate with the reservation of seats to Mohamedans, either on the basis of the Lucknow Pact or the existing population of each province, the Mohamedans met in informal conference today under the Presidentship of Mr. Jinnah, who had issued invitations to representative Mohamedans in all parts of India.

After a protracted discussion the conference agreed to the institution of joint electorates under certain conditions. It was unanimously resolved that the Mohamedans should accept a settlement on the basis of the following proposals so far as representation in the various legislatures in any future scheme of constitution is concerned.

(1) Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province.

(2) Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan on the same footing as in any other province in India.

If this is agreed to, Mohamedans are prepared to accept a joint electorate in all provinces so constituted and are further willing to make to Hindu minorities in Sind, Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province the same concessions that Hindu majorities in other provinces are prepared to make to Mohamedan minorities.

In the Punjab and Bengal the proportion of representation should be in accordance with population.

In the Central Legislature, Mohamedan representation not to be less than a third, and that also by a mixed electorate.

These proposals are subject to ratification by the Mohamedan organizations concerned, but it was hoped by those present at the conference that the Hindus would accept and the Mohamedans would ratify them.

The question of the Services and other questions with regard to safeguards concerning any bill or resolution which might affect the religion, or the customs or the usages of either community, or affecting inter-communal interests were also discussed by the meeting but postponed for further consideration and will be taken up, if on the main proposition there can be unanimity of opinion.

The following attended the Conference which came to the above conclusions. Mr. Jinnah, Maharaja of Mahmudabad, Sir Muhammed Shafi, Mr. Mohamed Ali, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Mohamed Yakub, Nawab Mohamed Ismail, Syed Alay Nabi, Lieut. Sardar Mohamed Nawaz Khan, Mz. Suharawardi, Mr. Shah Nawaz, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mr. Farooki, Mr. Abdul Rahman, Sir Abdul Qauyum, Shah Mohamed Zabair, Syed Ahmed Shah

(Imam of Juma mosque, Delhi) Moulvi Syed Murtaza, Mr. Mohammed Shafee Daoodi, Mr. Abdul Aziz, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhari, Mirza Abdul Qadir, Syed Abdul Jabbar(Ajmer), Mr. Ehtashamuddin, Syed Abdul Rahim, Mr. Anwar-u-Azim, Dr. Hyder, Mr. Ariff, Mr. Iajaz Hussain, and Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS RESPONSE.

These proposals were substantially accepted by the All India Congress Committee meeting in May, 1927 in Bombay and were later embodied in the resolution adopted by the open session of the Indian National Congress at Madras, in December, 1927.

The responses thus made by the Congress to the Muslim proposals were considered by the session of the All India Muslim League at Culcutta, in December 1927, and the following resolution was passed by the League :—

"The All India Muslim League authorises its Council to appoint a subcommittee to confer with the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress and such other organizations as they think proper for the purpose of drafting a cons-

titution for India in which the interests of the Muslim community will be safeguarded having regard to the following proposals which the League approves and adopts and subsequently take part in the National Convention which is going to take place in Delhi in March next as suggested by the Congress.

(1) That Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province.

(2) That reforms should be introduced in the N. W. F. Province and in Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.

(3) That in the present circumstances the representation of muslims in the different Legislatures of the country through separate Muslim electorates is inevitable, and that Muslims will not accept any scheme involving the surrender of this valued right unless and until Sind is actually made a separate province and Reforms aforesaid are actually introduced in the N.W.F. and Baluchistan Provinces and that when these requirements are fully satisfied, Muslims will be prepared to abandon separate electorates in favour of joint electorates with reservation of seats fixed on the basis of the population of the

different communities, subject to what is related hereinafter.

(4) In Sind, Baluchistan and the N. W. F. Province, the Muslim majority should make the same concession in regard to the proportion of seats reserved to the Hindu minority that Hindu majorities in other provinces would make to Muslim minorities over and above the proportion of population of the provinces which shall be the minimum basis.

(5) In the Central Legislature, the Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.

The League further resolves (a) that in the future constitution of India, liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no legislature, Central or Provincial, shall have power to make any laws interfering with the liberty of conscience. "Liberty of conscience" means, liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observance and association and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with the similar rights of others (b) that no bill, resolution, motion or amendment regarding inter-communal matters shall be moved, discussed or passed in any legislature, Central or Provincial,

if a three-fourths majority of the members of the community affected thereby in that legislature, oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such bill, the resolution, motion or amendment. "Inter-communal matters" means, matters agreed upon as such by the joint standing committee of both communities of the Hindu and Muslim members of the Legislatures concerned appointed at the commencement of every session of that Legislature.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS.

The idea to draw up an agreed constitution led to the summoning of the All Parties Conference at Delhi, on 11th February, 1928. This Conference continued its labours till 11th March but no agreement could be arrived at. The All India Muslim League had appointed a Committee to represent the League at the All Parties Conference but as no agreement was reached the Council of the All India Muslim League met in Delhi and passed the following resolution:—

"The Council of the All India Muslim League is of opinion that the draft proposals adopted at the All Parties Conference called by the Working

Committee of the Indian National Congress are not in conformity with the resolutions of the All India Muslim League passed at its sessions in Calcutta in 1927. The Council further regrets that the Hindu Mahasabha has practically rejected the Muslim League proposals.

"The Council hereby appoints a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen for the purpose of conferring with the representatives of other organizations in accordance with resolution No. 4 of the League referred to above. The Council is of opinion that the Committee should press the representatives of various organizations to accept the proposals embodied in the aforesaid resolutions of the League Sessions of 1927, held in Calcutta and report the final result to the Council for such action as they may consider proper before proceeding with the framing of the constitution."

Thereafter, the Muslim League was not represented by any body authorised in their behalf at the All Parties Conference, as there was created a fundamental difference owing to the Indian National Congress receding from its position adopted hitherto.

ENTIRE OVERTHROW OF PREVIOUS UNDERSTANDING.

The All Parties Conference meeting in May, in Bombay, in absence of the Muslim League representatives, changed the basis of rapprochement brought about by the resolution of the Indian National Congress at Madras followed by the Calcutta session of the All India Muslim League when the latter made a response to the Congress.

The meeting of the All Parties Conference at Bombay struck a new line. It adopted a totally different course and appointed a small committee with terms of reference to which the All India Muslim League was not a party.

This Committee's report was considered at Lucknow by the so called All Parties Conference at which the Muslim League was not represented, though it was one of the principal parties who had initiated the move by promoting Delhi Muslim Proposals. This Conference nevertheless passed resolutions with regard to communal adjustments and other matters which were finally embodied in the Nehru Report.

MUSLIM VIEW OF NEHRU REPORT.

The basic principles of the communal settlement embodied in the Nehru Report are contrary to those on which Muslim opinion had hitherto expressed its willingness to come to an agreement. The Conference having rejected virtually the Delhi Moslim Proposal, the League is, therefore, free to adopt such course with regard to this matter and formulate such proposals as the League may think proper, to be incorporated in any future scheme of constitution of the Government of India, that may be framed and adopted.

The only occasion where the League has given its consideration to the Nehru Report was when it was invited to send the delegation to the All Parties Convention at Calcutta, in December, 1928. The League Delegation submitted proposals at the Convention subject to their ratification by the League and made it clear that if they were acceptable to the Convention, the delegates would then discuss the constitution and the various provisions of the scheme. But the main proposals submitted by the League's delegation were summarily rejected by the Convention. These proposals were:—

(1) That one-third of the elected representatives of both the Houses of the Central Legislature should be Musalmans.

(2) That in the Punjab and Bengal, in the event of adult suffrage not being established, there should be reservation of seats for Musalmans on population basis for 10 years subject to re-examination after that period but that they shall have no right to contest additional seats.

(3) That the form of the constitution should be federal and that residuary powers should be left to the provinces and should not vest in the Central Legislature.

(4) That clause 13 (a) embodied in the Supplementary Nehru Report should be deleted.

(5) That the division of subjects in the Schedules 1 and 2 of the Nehru Report should be revised.

(6) That with regard to Sind delete the words, "simultaneously with establishment of Government under this constitution" from the first part which runs as follows: "simultaneously with the establishment of Government under this constitution, Sind shall be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province".

In view of summary rejection of these proposals the League's delegates could not proceed further and reported the decisions of the Convention to the All India Muslim League.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS ON THE NEHRU REPORT.

The League found that it did not stand singular in its difficulties with the Nehru Report. The National Congress itself merely accorded its sanction to the scheme for a year. The All India Hindu Mahasabha declared that even, if a comma were changed the Hindus will withdraw their support from the Nehru Report. The Sikh League delegates at the Convention rejected the scheme of communal settlement. The National Liberal Federation at first adopted an attitude of benevolent neutrality and subsequently adopted the Nehru Report without expressing strong views one way or the other with regard to the Muslim proposals.

POSITION CONFRONTING THE LEAGUE.

Thus the original conception of bringing about a communal pact or a

national agreement was not feasible and the All India Muslim League after a very careful consideration decided to adjourn its session and instructed the Council of the League to call the adjourned session at such a place and time as the Council may deem it necessary, before the end of May, 1929.

The Nerhu Report proposal can therefore, at best be treated only as counter Hindu proposals to the muslim proposals. And as there is no agreement reached it is now for the all India Muslim League to take such action or adopt such course as the League may think proper in the best interests of the community and the country.

M. A. JINNAH.

SAFEGUARDS FOR MUSLIMS OF INDIA.

MR. JINNAH'S "FIFTEEN POINTS."

1. The form of the future Constitution should be federal with residuary powers vested in the province, Central Goverment to have the Control only of such matters of common interest as may be guaranteed by the Constitution.

2. Uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.

3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies should be reconstituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority of any province to a minority or even equality.

4. In the Central legislature Muslim representation should not be less than one-third.

5. The representation of communal groups should continue to be by

means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it should be open to any community at anytime to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorates.

6. Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way effect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal, and North-West Frontier Province.

7. Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education should be guaranteed to all communities.

8. No bill or resolution, or any part thereof, should be passed in any legislature or any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a bill or resolution or part thereof, on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or, in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

9. Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.

10. Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces.

11. Provision should be made in the Constitution giving the Muslim an adequate share along with other Indians in all the Services of the State and in self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

12. The Constitution should embody adequate safe-guards for the protection of Muslim religion, culture and personal law, and the promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws, Muslim charitable institutions, and for their due share in grants-in-aid given by the State and by self-governing bodies.

13. No cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim Ministers of at least one-third.

14 No change to be made in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

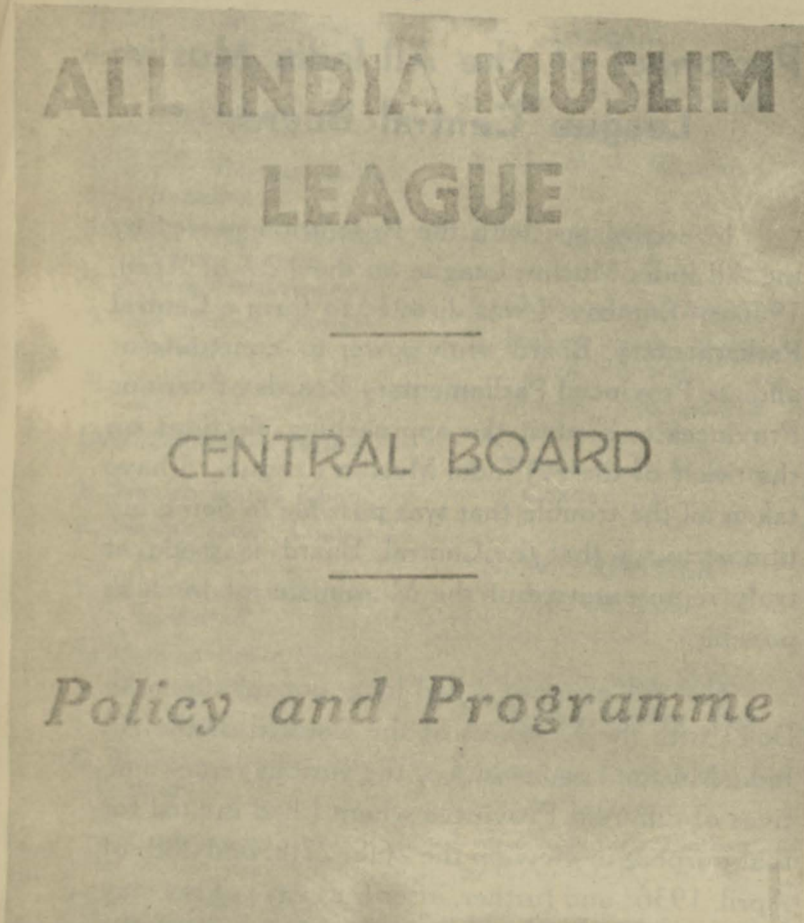
15. That in the present circumstances the representation of Musalmans in the different legislatures of the country, and of the other elected bodies through separate electorates is inevitable, and further, Government being pledged not to deprive the Musalmans of this right, it cannot be taken away without their consent, and so long as the Musalmans are not satisfied that their rights and interest are safeguarded in the manner specified above (or herein) they would in no way consent to the establishment of joint electorates with or without conditions.

NOTE.-- The question of excess representation of Musalmans over and above their population in the provinces where they are in the minority to be considered hereafter.

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ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

CENTRAL BOARD

Policy and Programme

All-India Muslim League Central Board policy and programme :

This is another booklet compiled by the Quaid. In 1936 the All-India Muslim League formed a Central Parliamentary Board to contest the elections. The booklet includes the names of the members of the Central Parliamentary Board from various provinces Bombay, Delhi, Bengal, Madras, U.P., Behar, C.P., Asam, Sind, N.W.F.P., and Punjab. As proper information was not available the name of Orisa was not mentioned. The booklet also includes resolutions of the All-India Muslim League regarding the Government of India Act, 1935. It also contains rules and regulations defining the policies and programme of the All-India Muslim League In the end a sixteen-point election manifesto has been included.

Personnel of the All India Muslim League Central Board.

In accordance with the Resolution passed by the All India Muslim League on the 12th of April, 1936, at Bombay, I was directed to form a **Central Parliamentary Board** with power to constitute or affiliate **Provincial Parliamentary Boards** of various Provinces to contest the approaching elections on the ticket of the All India Muslim League. I have taken all the trouble that was possible in doing my utmost to see that the Central Board is made as truly representative of the Musalmans of India as possible.

For this purpose I had long consultations in Delhi with the Members of the Council of the All India Muslim League and of the various representatives of different Provinces whom I had invited for that purpose in view on the 26th, 27th, and 28th of April, 1936; and further, after four days of my stay in Punjab, I had the opportunity of discussing the matter with the various Leaders of Punjab and after careful consideration I wish to announce the following names as the Members of the Central Parliamentary Board:—

BENGAL

1. Nawab of Dacca.
2. Mr. Fazaluhuq.
3. Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin.
4. Maulana Akram Khan.
5. Mr. Shahid Shuawardy.
6. Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddique.

7. Mr. H. M. Isfhani.
8. Mr. Majibur Rahman.

MADRAS

1. Syed Murtaza Sahib Bahadur.
2. Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, Mayor, Madras Municipality.
3. Mr. Jamal Mohammed.
4. Mr. B. Poker.

UNITED PROVINCES

1. Nawab Ismail Khan.
2. Nawab-zada Liaqatali Khan.
3. Maharaja of Mohammedabad.
4. Raja of Salim-Pore.
5. Maulana Shaukat Ali.
6. Mr. Khaliq Zaman.
7. Maulana Hassan Ahmad.

BEHAR

1. Mr. Qazi Ahmed Hossain.
2. Maulana Sajjad Phulrari Sharif.
3. Shah Masud Ahmad, Ex. M. L. A.
4. Mr. A. Hafiz, Advocate.
5. Mufti Kifayat Ullah.

CENTRAL PROVINCES

1. Mr. Rouf Shah, B.A., LL.B.
2. Mr. Sariff, Bar-at-Law

ASSAM

1. Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhri.
2. Mr. M. A. Razzaque.

SINDH

1. Sheikh Abdul Majid.
2. Hakim Fateh Mohomed Sharwani.
3. Moulvi Mohammed Sidiq Khadda.
4. Mohammed Hashim Gazdar.

N. W. FRONTIER PROVINCES

1. Malik Pir Bux, M.L.C.
2. Maulana Allah Bux Yusuf.
3. Maulana Abdul Rahim Gaznawi.
4. Malik Khuda Bakhsh B.A., LL.B., M.L.C.

PUNJAB

1. Sir Mahomed Iqbal.
2. Maulana Mohd. Ishaq Khan Mansehravi.
3. Ghazi Abdur Rehaman, B.A.
4. Mian Abdul Aziz.
5. Syed Zain-ul-Abddin
6. Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri.
7. The Hon'ble Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan.

8. Sheikh Hisam-ud-Din
9. Chaudhri Afzal Haq, M.L.C.
10. Ch. Abdul Aziz of Begowal.
11. Khawaja Gulam Hussain, Pleader.

DELHI

1. Maulana Ahmed Syed.

BOMBAY

1. Sir Suleman Cassim Mitha.
2. Mr. R. M. Chinoy.
3. Mr. Abubacker Beg Mohammed.
4. Mr. Ismail Chundrigar.
5. Thakore Sahib of Kerwada, M.L.C.
6. Khan Bahadur Salahuddin.

If I have omitted any name or names, and I am fully conscious that is possible, I regret such omission and hope that considering the great task and the obligation that was imposed upon me to constitute this Board, the Musalmans will loyally abide by my selection, and, of course, the Board will have power to add to its number and therefore any omission or oversight on my part can be rectified by the Board itself by electing any additional person or persons as Members of the Central Board. I may here state that I have not been able to get proper information with regard to the Province of Orissa, and, therefore, I have not been able to select the Members of that province for the Central Board, but this can be also done by the Central Board.

I am enclosing a copy of the Resolutions that were passed by the All India Muslim League herewith and I would like your particular attention drawn to the Resolutions.

I request you as a Member of the Central Board to be good enough to attend the Meeting of

the Central Board which will take place in Lahore on the 8th of June, 1936, at No. 23 Circular Road at 4 p. m.

I am enclosing also a copy of the Draft Rules herewith to be adopted by the Central Board at its first Meeting and I shall be glad if you would give your careful consideration to the Rules and suggest such alterations or amendments in the Rules as you may think proper at the Meeting before they are finally adopted.

The Meeting will consider:—

1. The Adoption of the Draft Rules.

2. The formation of the general policy and programme of the League for the purpose of approaching and contesting the elections to the Provincial Legislatures.

3. The constitution and affiliation of the Provincial Parliamentary Boards.

4. Organising the public opinion and the ways and means of doing so.

5. Any other matter or matters that may be allowed by the President.

RESOLUTIONS

1. "The All-India Muslim League enters its emphatic protest against forcing the constitution, as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, upon the people of India, against their will and in spite of their repeated disapproval and dissent, expressed by various parties and bodies in the country.

The League considers that, having regard to the conditions prevailing at present in the country, the Provincial scheme of the Constitution be utilised for what it is worth in spite of the most objectionable features contained therein, which render the real control and responsibility of the Ministry and the Legislature over the entire field of Government and the Administration nugatory.

The League is clearly of the opinion that the All-India Federal Scheme of the Central Government, embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935, is fundamentally bad, it is most reactionary, retrograde, injurious and fatal to the vital interests of British India **vis-a-vis** the Indian States, and it is calculated to thwart and delay indefinitely the realisation of India's most cherished goal of complete responsible government, and is totally unacceptable.

The League considers that the British Parliament should still take the earliest opportunity to review the whole situation afresh regarding the Central Scheme before it is inaugurated; or else the League feels convinced that the present scheme will not bring peace and contentment to the people, but, on the contrary, it will lead to disaster if forced

upon and persisted in as it is entirely unworkable in the interests of India and her people".

2. "Whereas the Parliamentary system of Government which is being introduced in this country with the inauguration of the new constitution presupposes the formation of parties with a well-defined policy and programme which facilitate the education of the electorate, and co-operation between groups with proximate aims and ideals and ensures the working of the constitution to the best advantage; and whereas in order to strengthen the solidarity of the Muslim community and to secure for the Muslims their proper and effective share in the Provincial Governments, it is essential that the Muslims should organise themselves as one party, with an advanced and progressive programme, it is hereby resolved that the All-India Muslim League do take steps to contest the approaching provincial elections, and for this purpose appoint Mr. Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his presidentship, consisting of not less than 35 members, with powers to constitute and affiliate Provincial Election Boards in various Provinces, having regard to the condition of each province and devise ways and means for carrying out the aforesaid objects".

At the Meeting of the Central Board on the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th June, 1936, Mr. Jinnah was elected President of the Board, Raja of Mohammadabad, Treasurer and Mr. Abdul Matin Choudhari, Secretary.

The following rules and regulations and the manifesto defining the policy and Programme were adopted and passed unanimously.

RULES OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE CENTRAL PARLIAMENTARY BOARD.

1. The Board shall elect its own President, Secretary and Treasurer.
2. The Board may appoint a Working Committee and may delegate to the Working Committee such powers and functions as are deemed necessary.
3. The Board shall have power to raise funds and administer and disburse the same for propaganda and publicity and other incidental expenses and keep a proper account.
4. The Board may appoint Sub Committees to further objects for which the Board has been constituted.
5. The President shall preside over all the meetings of the Board and the Working Committee.
6. In the absence of the President the Members present shall elect one of themselves to the Chair.
7. All questions shall be decided by a majority of votes the President having a second casting vote.
8. At least 15 days' notice shall be given for holding the ordinary meeting of the Board which shall be convened by the Secretary with the previous consent of the President. In case of emergency the President may call the meeting at shorter notice.
9. Every candidate offering to contest the election on behalf of any Provincial Board shall signify his readiness to abide by the decisions of the Provincial

Board and also shall sign a pledge accepting the programme adopted by the Central and the Provincial Board, and provided further that such candidate shall stand by the Muslim League pledge and no other party pledge.

10. The Provincial Boards shall be autonomous within their respective Provinces and shall select candidates and run elections subject to the acceptance of the general policy of the Central Board and affiliation to the same.
11. The meetings of the Board shall be held at such place and such time as the President may direct.
12. Nine members shall form a quorum in the Board meeting. If a meeting is adjourned for want of quorum no quorum will be necessary for the adjourned meeting.
13. Members of the Central Board from respective Provinces shall form Election Boards in their own Provinces subject to recognition and affiliation by the Central Board and if they fail to do so within a reasonable time the Central Board or the Working Committee if so authorised shall constitute or affiliate any Provincial Board.
14. The Provincial Boards shall supply the list of candidates adopted by them at least two months before the polling days.
15. The Provincial Boards in each Province will be at liberty to decide by a majority of two-thirds to co-operate with any political group or groups provided their aims and objects and ideals are approximately

the same as those of the Muslim League Central and Provincial Boards.

16. The Central Board shall frame at its first meeting Manifesto defining general policy and programme.

17. The Central Board will have powers to suspend or disaffiliate any Provincial Board at any time.

18. No alteration, modification or addition shall be made in the rules mentioned herein-before except by a majority of two thirds of members present.

POLICY AND PROGRAMME.

The advent and the announcement of the Minto Morley Reforms brought home to the leaders of the Mussalmans the necessity of starting a Muslim Political Organisation and thus was founded the All India Muslim League at Dacca in December, 1906.

The League adopted its creed an ideal definitely in December, 1912 and altered its constitution having for its aims and objects:—

1. Full responsible government for India with adequate and effective safeguards for Mussalmans.
2. To protect and advance the political and religious and other rights and interests of the Indian Mussalmans.
3. To promote friendship and union between the Mussalmans and other communities of India.
4. To maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Mussalmans of India and those of other countries.

The League has been faithfully and loyally acting in accordance with these fundamental principles ever since. During the period of the existence of the Minto Morley constitution, it continued from time to time and represented and watched the true feelings and opinions of the Mussalmans. As time went on, the co-operation and help of the prominent leaders of India and particularly that great man, the Maharaja of Mohammedabad, whose selfless devotion, patriotic fervour and single mindedness of purpose gave the League such a strength and power and support that it reached the zenith of its ascendancy accomplished what is one of the greatest beacon lights in the constitutional history of India, the Lucknow pact, which is known as "League Congress pact" in 1916. This pact will go down in the Indian history as a land mark in the political evolution of the country as a signal proof of identity of purpose and earnestness and co-operation between the two great sections of the people of India, in the task of attainment of responsible government. But the pact was not the last word on the question of adjustment of political differences between Hindus and Mussalmans. Nor was it ever intended or could be considered in the new circumstances that arose and developed since then. The national demand for complete responsible government after the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms became more and more insistent and from 1920 onward the Mussalmans stood shoulder to shoulder with the sister communities and did not lag behind in their sacrifice and their patriotic co-operation with the Hindus. But as a minority they maintain the principle that their position in any

future political constitutional structure should be protected and safeguarded. Here it might be stated that at first sight it may appear to an amateur politician that such a demand savours of communalism, but in reality to those who understand the political and constitutional histories of the world, it must be evident that it is not only natural but it is essential for securing a stable national government by ensuring whole-hearted and willing co-operation of the minorities who are made to feel that they can rely upon the majority with the complete sense of confidence and security. In the various steps that followed, the deliberations and collaborations that took place, the League has always stood for full responsible government for India and unflinchingly to-day stands for the same ideal. It deplores that as a result of the Round Table Conference, the British Parliament has forced upon the people of India a constitution embodied in the Government of India Act 1935. Its attitude towards the constitution is defined by its resolution passed at the sessions of the All India Muslim League on the 11th and 12th of April, 1936 to the following effect:—

While it accepts the communal award till a substitute is agreed upon between the communities concerned, it emphatically protests against the constitution embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, being forced upon the people of India against their will and inspite of their repeated disapproval and dissent expressed by various parties and bodies in the country.

The League considers that, having regard to the conditions prevailing at present in the country, the provincial scheme of the Constitution be utilised for what it is worth inspite of the most objectionable features contained therein, which render the real control and responsibility of the ministry

and the Legislature over the entire field of Government and the Administration nugatory.

The League is clearly of the opinion that the All India Federal Scheme of the Central Government, embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935, is fundamentally bad, it is most reactionary, retrograde, injurious and fatal to the vital interests of British India **vis-a-vis** the Indian States, and it is calculated to thwart and delay indefinitely the realisation of India's most cherished goal of complete responsible government and is totally unacceptable.

The League considers that the British Parliament should still take the earliest opportunity to review the whole situation afresh regarding the Central scheme before it is inaugurated; or else the League feels convinced that the present scheme will not bring peace and contentment to the people, but on the contrary it will lead to disaster if forced upon and persisted in as it is entirely unworkable in the interests of India and her people.

But as it will be observed that as the provincial scheme embodied in the Government of India Act is going to be enforced in the course of the next year, the League decided that having regard to the conditions prevailing at present in the country, the provincial scheme of the constitution be utilised for what it is worth. In view of this decision of the League, the League further decided that a Central Election Board should be formed with power to constitute and affiliate provincial Election Boards in various provinces and passed the following resolution:—

"Whereas the Parliamentary system of Government which is being introduced in this country with the inauguration of the new constitution pre-

supposes the formation of parties with a well-defined policy and programme which facilitate the education of the electorate, and co-operation between groups with proximate aims and ideals and ensures the working of the constitution to the best advantage; and whereas in order to strengthen the solidarity of the Muslim community and to secure for the Muslims their proper and effective share in the provincial governments, it is essential that the Muslims should organise themselves as one party, with an advanced and progressive programme it is hereby resolved that the All India Muslim League do take steps to contest the approaching Provincial elections, and for this purpose appoint Mr. Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his presidentship, consisting of not less than 35 members, with powers to constitute and affiliate provincial election boards in various Provinces having regard to the condition of each Province, and devise ways and means for carrying out the aforesaid objects."

In pursuance of that resolution the Central Board has been now formed and the policy and the programme of the Central Board has to be defined.

The inauguration of the Montagu Chelmsford scheme of constitution and working thereof has developed and brought forth various forces and it appears that such a power as was available under that scheme has been captured in the various provinces by reactionary conservative element in combination with a coterie of men whose sole aim and object is to secure offices and places for themselves wherever and whenever available. This has suited the Government and these two classes have received every encouragement and support, with the result that they have not only been a hindrance and an obstacle in the way of the independent and progressive intelligentsia but the people generally have been exploited. Thus was created a double

domination of the reactionary forces and the imperialistic power. Our aim is that this domination must cease.

The present political situation in the country has been described aptly by the President of the last session of the All-India Muslim League in the following words:—

"New problems have arisen to-day. It is not only a question of educating the middle class of the Muslims in India on Western lines and providing them with jobs; it is not only a question in infusing in them the ideals of Victorian liberalism, on the contrary the present conditions compel us to go much deeper into the problems of entire social regeneration of seventy millions of Muslims; of extricating them from the terrible poverty, degradation and backwardness into which they have fallen and giving them at least the rudiments of a civilised existence and making them free citizens of a free land. We must realize, as people of other countries have realized, that a change is necessary and that unless such a change is soon made the whole of this social structure must come down with a crush, which will involve the extinction of not only the educated section of our people but also of all privileged classes whether they hold privileges by reason of caste, land or money. The foundations of the super-structure in which we are living to-day were laid centuries ago and it is but natural that those foundations ceased to be stable now. It is the duty, if it is not only an obligation created by motives of self interest, of all of us, the educated classes, the capitalists, and the land holders, to combine together to lay the foundations of a new structure. Of course, in order that this effort must fructify sacrifices will have to be made on the part of all. Let me tell you that the build-

ing of such a social edifice will be more glorious, more humane and more just than the building of an empire."

But at the same time we must make it clear that the League is opposed to any movement that aims at expropriation of private property.

The main principles on which we expect our representatives in the various legislatures to work will be:—

1. That the present Provincial Constitution and the proposed Central Constitution should be replaced immediately by Democratic full Self-Government.
2. And that in the meantime the representatives of the Muslim League in the various Legislatures will utilise the Legislatures in order to extract the maximum benefit out of the constitution for the uplift of the people in various spheres of national life.

The Muslim League party must be formed as a corollary so long as separate electorates exist but they would be free to co-operate with any group or groups whose aims and ideals are approximately the same as those of the All India Muslim League. The League appeals to Mussalmans that they should not permit themselves to be exploited on economic or any other ground which will break up the solidarity of the community.

The Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board adopts the following programme for ensuing elections:—

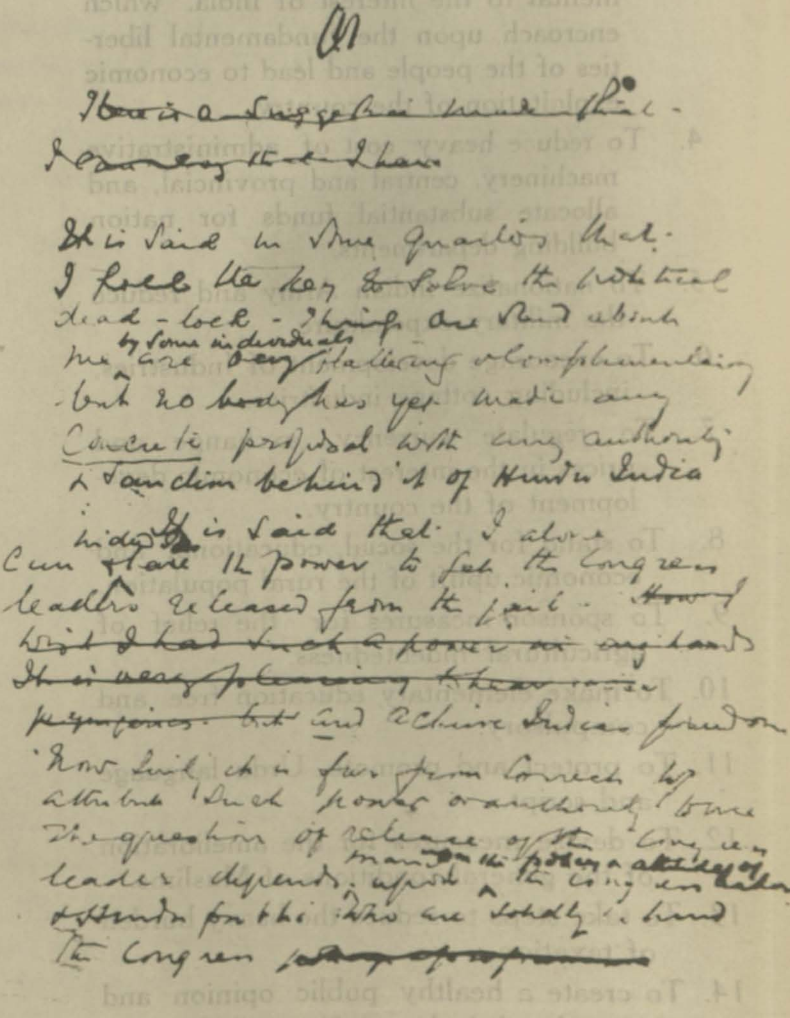
1. To protect the religious rights of the Mussalmans. In all matters of purely

religious character, due weight shall be given to the opinions of Jamiat-ul-Ulema Hind and the Mujtahids.

2. To make every effort to secure the repeal of all repressive laws.
3. To resist all measures which are detrimental to the interest of India, which encroach upon the fundamental liberties of the people and lead to economic exploitation of the country.
4. To reduce heavy cost of administrative machinery, central and provincial, and allocate substantial funds for nation building departments.
5. To nationalize Indian Army and reduce the military expenditure.
6. To encourage development of Industries, including cottage industries.
7. To regulate currency, exchange and prices in the interest of economic development of the country.
8. To stand for the social, educational and economic uplift of the rural population.
9. To sponsor measures for the relief of agricultural indebtedness.
10. To make elementary education free and compulsory.
11. To protect and promote Urdu language and script.
12. To devise measures for the amelioration of the general conditions of Muslims.
13. To take steps to reduce the heavy burden of taxation.
14. To create a healthy public opinion and general political consciousness throughout the country.

Outline of a speech in Quaid's own hand :

In 1942 the Quaid delivered a speech at Ismailia College, Bombay. The manuscript is an outline of his speech written in his own hand.



It is said in some quarters that I hold the key to solve the political dead-lock - Things are said about me by some individuals are very flattering & complimentary - but no body has yet made any Concrete proposal with any authority & sanction behind it of Hindu India

It is said that I alone can have the power to get the Congress leaders released from the jail - and achieve Indian freedom

Now whilst it is far from correct to attribute such power or authority to me the question of release of the Congress leaders depends upon the mentality, policy & attitude of the Congress leaders & Hindus forthwith who are solidly behind the Congress

The first question that requires consideration is – whether there is any real change of heart on the part of the Hindu leadership & Hindu public towards Muslim India & Muslim League. Secondly whether the Hindu leadership desire peaceful negotiations & agreement with the All India Muslim League & are prepared to drop threatening & intimidating Muslims with civil war and the sanction & coercing the British to ignore the Muslims & accede to the Hindu Congress demands at the cost & sacrifice of ~~[illegible]~~ fundamental & vital interests of Muslims & their important elements in the life of this great subcontinent:

I see no evidence of genuine change of heart. Nor do I see any symptom of any change of policy or programme on the part of Congress, whereas now the Hindu Maha Sabha claiming to speak on behalf of caste Hindus has recently at Cawnpore made their position quite clear and reaffirmed their

Recently · but all of a sudden
Mr Amery has made a discovery
think of historical nature & has been
studying the pattern of Akbar's fort.
as a model for him to follow – as a
post war reconstruction of the world
& the British Empire of which India
is the brightest jewel. While White
hall was engaged in this research
maintain ~~peace~~ of ruling India – as Akbar
& other details viz by arranging that his councillors &
[illegible] Equally suddenly
civil · the Lord Linlithgow after 7 years ~~[illegible]~~
ruling should of stay in India has made ~~[illegible]~~
be drawn from ~~[illegible]~~ discovery ~~[illegible]~~
these widely differing ~~[illegible]~~ — of India is
nationalities & classes · geographical unity
to pass on to possibility of
[illegible] the [illegible] event is that Hindu
[illegible] Mohamedan etc [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] has made a
[illegible]

these policy
~~[illegible]~~ that they are determined to subjugate
the Muslim India and establish the Hindu Raj
over the entire sub continent of India at any
cost & are ready & prepared to declare
civil war if the Musalmans do not submit
& surrender to the clear cut ultimatum embodied
in their resolution and further they are
going to resort to direct action
on or before the 30th April if the
British [illegible] do not submit & concede
their demand for "Akhand Hindustan"
& denounce the Muslim India demand
for partition or Pakistan ______

What signs are there what evidence
is there that the Hindu Congress
has changed in the slightest degree
its policy programme or attitude that
they had often crystallized in a series of their solemn resolution
& culminating in the last resolution
of the 8th Aug 1942.

Whereas Hindu Maha Sabha the Counterpart
& left wing of the Congress makes no bones
about securing Muslims under their yoke

gift for the new year to the die hard tories who wish to continue the imperialistic domination over India rather than that agree to what would lead to the freedom & independence both of Muslim India & Hindu India. The question is whether we continue in slavery in a geographically united India or should we achieve freedom of both nations in a divided India & which would lead to independence of both in the shortest possible time

Hindu Muslim Settlement before or after independence?

Congress say after Independence

Muslim League say in order to secure independence Hindu Muslim Settlement must be before Independence

1st Congress proposal not practical to begin with

2nd Congress proposal must lead to anarchy chaos & blood shed.

3rd Then even at the cost of heavy force we shall not succeed

British ~~[illegible]~~ also say that unless there is an agreement between Major parties how can they & to whom are they to transfer power which they are only too ready & willing to do so: They say they can only transfer power to a System of Govern-t which will command the Confidence & Sanction of Solid majority of United India knowing full well that such a Combination is well nigh Impossible.

Letters of the Quaid :

Letters of the Quaid :

In the end some letters of the Quaid are being published. These letters were addressed to various persons and are of great historical value.

Grand Hotel,

Simla, the 23rd Sep. 1937.

Dear Sir,

I am glad that you are taking very keen interest in the affairs of the Mussalmans and particularly with regard to the question of Hindi-Urdu controversy. You know that the session of the All-India Muslim League is fixed for the 15th, 16th and 17th October to take place at Lucknow and I shall feel extremely obliged if you could attend the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League which will also take place there. As I am sure we should like to hear your well considered views and opinion with regard to this controversy & I feel that it will

assist immensely the Council of the All-India Muslim League in forming a definite opinion with regard to this important question of language; I hope that you will make it a point to attend the session.

Yours sincerely,

Maulvi Abdul Haq,

Hyderabad(Deccan)

21st September, 1937

Dear Maulana Shaukat Ali,

I am glad that you are going to attend the Palestine Conference and the Bengal Muslim Conference. Please give my message to the Mussalmans of Bengal that they should stand by the All-India Muslim League and its policy and programme which is in the best interest not only of the Mussalmans but the country as a whole. I am sure that the Mussalmans of Bengal will stand solid by the Arabs of Palestine who have been most grievously wronged from the very inception of the mandatory power having been imposed upon them and the inequitious Balfour declaration and lastly the unjust and unwarranted attempt that is sought to be made to partition Palestine as suggested by the Royal Commission which must lead to their destruction. I am sure, I am echoing the feelings and sentiments of the Mussalmans of India and Bengal when I say that we stand by the brave struggle that is being carried on by the Arabs of Palestine for their independence and freedom of their country and that we will do all that we can in their struggle to help them in resisting their enemies who wish to destroy their legitimate aspirations for the freedom of their country. I appeal to the Mussalmans of Bengal to organise and establish solidarity and unity amongst the Mussalmans of India as they represent more than one-third of the Mussalmans all over the country and it is up to them to give an earnest lead to the rest of the Mussalmans. I wish both the Conference and you all success.

Yours Sincerely,

Maulana Shaukat Ali, M.L A. (M. A. Jinnah)

1, Hastings Road,

New Delhi, the 25th March, 1938.

Dear Sir,

I heve received your letter of the 15th of March.

You must have read in newspapers by now that the Council of the All-India Muslim League has appointed a Committee to enquire into the hardships, ill-treatment and injustice that is meted out to the Musalmans generally and the Members and the workers of the Muslim League. The Secretary of that Committee is Ali Bahadur Habibullah whose address is Mall, Lucknow. I would therefore request you to put the matter before that Committee.

As to my coming to Patna, it is not possible for me just now to fix up

any engagement. I trust that the leaders and the rank and file of your Province will realize that we should close our rank and file and understand each other as one solid united people.

Yours truly,

M. A. Jinnah

S.S. Rashid Ahmad Moulai,
Esquire,
Khanqah Moulanagar,
Surajgarha.

[illegible], Hastings Road,
New Delhi, the 7th March, 1938.

Dear Khwaja Hasan Nizami,

With reference to our interview regarding your forming and starting Muslim Information Service, I agree with you that there is a great need for such an Agency. And if it is properly managed and conducted I have no doubt it can render very great service to the Mussalmans of India who are at present almost without any Press. Your scheme will play a very important part in the present critical juncture of the political movement of the country in which the Mussalmans must and are destined to play an effective part. Your past experience in the journalistic career is well known and in the management thereof you have displayed great ability. You have stood on all occasions by the vital interests of the Mussalmans. I hope that your new venture will fearlessly and strenuously support the policy and the programme of the All-India Muslim League.

I wish you every success in your new venture.

Yours sincerely,

محمد علی جناح

Khwaja Hasan Nizami,

PRIVATE.

Little Gibbs Road, Malabar Hill,

Bombay, 16th July, 1939.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th instant, and I am very glad to read the article purporting to have been written by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in which he has shown his willingness to come into the Muslim League, provided his certain terms are accepted. Do not you think that if he was really so genuine and anxious to join the League, instead of writing an article in the newspaper, he would have written to me directly. I am surprised that even people like you take this sort of propaganda seriously. According to the constitution and the rules of the Muslim League every Mussalman is welcome to joint it, and whatever defects there may be can be put right by the help of all, and it is the duty of every Mussalman to join the League and improve it and make it better and better instead of finding fault with it in the public press merely with a view to discredit it.

I think your information about the activities of the League seem to be out of date, and I am surprised that you should tumble into this species of arguments, that the Muslim League is not placing a definite and constructive programme for the masses to act on, that the League leaders are creatures of British I perialism, and that the request from the masses to

resort to civil disobedience is not granted. People who charge us with these allegations seem to be utterly ignorant of the realities of the situation. In the first instance, there is a definite and constructive programme of the League laid down at the Lucknow sessions in October, and is being pursued in various parts of India. As to the charge that the League is supporting British Imperialism it is totally false, and with regard to the question of not granting permission to masses to resort to civil disobedience in the first place no provincial league has yet made out a sufficient case for the purpose of resorting to civil disobedience, at any rate, for the present.

Yours faithfully,

S. S. Rasheed Ahmed, Esq.,
Vice President,
Monghyr District Muslim League,
Surajgarha.

Mount Pleasant Road
Malabar Hill
Bombay

14th September 1940

My dear Aziz,

Many thanks for your letter of the 13th September. I am glad you approve of our resolutions.

I am going on my journey again to Simla and will leave Bombay on the 22nd to reach Simla on the 24th. I hope to leave Simla on the 25th and get to Delhi on the 26th and be ready for the meeting of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League on the 28th and 29th.

With regard to my negotiations with the "Morning Standard" the position is exactly what I told you and until I got the requisite amount we are unable to prodeed further. I shall bear your suggestions in mind.

With kind regards from Miss Jinnah and my self

Yours Sincerely

Syed Abdul Aziz Esq
Minister
Hyderabad.

Government House
Myscre

26th May 1941

My dear Aziz,

I have been receiving all sorts of information, although I cannot vouchsafe the correctness of them. I have written a long letter to His Exalted Highness in reply to him. I wonder whether you have had any talk with His Exalted Highness.

For the present I would most earnestly request you and Sir Akbar Hyderi to see that no further step is taken which would add to the situation which is already very difficult.

I am waiting to hear from His Exalted Highness

Hoping you are well, with kind regards

Yours sincerely

Syed Abdul Aziz Esq

18th January, 1942

Dear Zahur Ahmad.

Many thanks for your telegram. I am most thankful to you and other Muslim League leaders for your cordial and enthusiastic invitation to undertake to welcome the Sessions of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad during the next Easter Holidays. I have accepted the invitation and intimated it to the Working Committee of your Provincial Muslim League. I appeal to all the Musalmans of U.P. and particularly of Allahabad to make this session a real success by affording all help and support to the organisers.

Judging by the reception that was given to me on my visit to Allahabad last time, I am sure the Musalmans of Allahabad will rise to the occasion and make it the greatest success by their whole-hearted support.

Wishing you all success.

Yours sincerely,

(M A. Jinnah)

Zahur Ahmad Esq.
President,
City Muslim League,
Allahabad.

10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

20th April 1943

Dear Sir,

It gives me great pleasure to know from your Mr. Habibur Rahman that you are opening out a new Retail Shop dealing in piece goods and cloth and I hardly say that it will fulfill a great need.

I have also impressed upon the Musalmans the need of a unified national effort for the economic uplift of our people and if people like you come forward, I am sure success can be achieved very soon.

Yours faithfully

M A Jinnah

M. Idrees Barry & Co
Cloth Merchants
Chandni Chowk, Delhi.

10, Aurangzeb Road,
NEW DELHI,

12th April, 1944.

Dear Sir,

In pursuance of Resolution No.2 of the All India Muslim League, passed at the Karachi Session in December 1943, I am authorized to appoint a "Planning Committee", whose main function would be to survey and examine the conditions of India, and more particularly of the Pakistan areas, with a view to preparing us to participate in the natural developments in the direction of commercial and agricultural expansion and industrialization, and be ready for a gigantic and co-ordinated drive in the field of economic reconstruction, and in the post-war reconstruction. The Committee that I propose to appoint will consist of economists, technicians, commercial scientists and practical business men, not exceeding fifteen members, with powers to add to it in future with my approval. May I know whether you would be willing to serve on this Committee? It is expected that the Committee will submit its report within six months, which would then be placed before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League for its consideration and to enable them to take such action as they may think proper. I propose to appoint Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung of Hyderabad as the Chairman and Prof. A. B. A. Haleem of Aligarh University as the Secretary of the proposed Committee.

Yours faithfully,

M A Jinnah

Ahmed Ispahani, Esq.,
5, Camac Street,
Calcutta.

My dear Mian Bashir Ahmad,

When tracing out some old papers, I came across some old letters from Sir Mohammad Iqbal written during the years 1935 to 1938, preceding his death. As these letters have become of great historical importance, I want to preserve them, but unfortunately my replies to them are not available as I then never kept duplicate copies. Could you kindly ~~secure my replies in Lahore so some member~~ arrange at Lahore to secure my replies ~~to~~, and despatch the same to ~~to~~ me as early as possible.

Wish you are in the best of health,

Yours sincerely,

Guest House No.4,
Srinagar, Kashmir,
6th July, 1944.

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter, and I hope to be in Rawalpindi on my way back to Lahore. I would certainly take the opportunity of visiting your institution, if it can be arranged in my programme but you know I shall be entirely in the hands of Mr.Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani, who is the Secretary, District Muslim League, Rawalpindi. I will get in touch with him regarding my programme there.

Yours faithfully,

M A Jinnah

Ghulam Qader, Esq.,
Organiser,
Yatim Khana Wa Madrasah,
Anjuman Faizul Islam,
RAWALPINDI.

M. R. T.,
c/o Mr. Bashir Ahmed,
10, Aurangzeb Road,
NEW DELHI.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 9th Decem and beg to inform you that I am very anxious that the I have entrusted to you should be completed as soon as

I am considering the draft "Foreward" sent to m will finally settle it when I am in Delhi. The time is running.

As regards your going to Wazirabad for four day see your children, I have no objection provided the wor your hands is completed. However, I will see what can in this matter when I return to Delhi.

Regarding your salary from the 8th November to December, a cheque will be issued on my reaching Delhi desired by you. With regard to the advance salary, I I cannot agree because it is contrary to the definite p that I have laid down not to give any advance salaries anyone, but you shall certainly have your cheque for Dec on the 7th of January.

Your Travelling Allowance bill from Wazirabad Delhi and also advance bill from Delhi to Bombay will to you when you have submitted the details.

With kind regards and thanking you for your goo wishes. for my health -

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Jinnah

(M. A. Jinnah).

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

30th September, 1944.

Dear Sir,

I am sending you herewith a cheque for ₨ 500/- by way of my donation as promised, while I visited the institution last July on my way to Lahore.

Please acknowledge receipt and oblige.

Yours faithfully,

Raja Ghulam Qadir,
Anjuman Faizul-Islam,
Rawalpindi.

Encles.

5th April, 1946

Dear Mr. Mohammad Amin,

During my recent visit to Lahore, it was announced at a meeting of the League M.L.As of the Punjab Assembly that they would contribute Rs. 100/- each towards the Central Muslim League Fund, and you, on their behalf informed me that you would give me the money before I left Lahore which however, has not been received by me so far. Would you, therefore, be good enough to let me have a cheque for the total sum of the donations announced by the Muslim M L.As of the Punjab.

Yours sincerely,

(M. A. Jinnah)

Sheikh Mohammad Amin,
Bar-at-Law, M.L.A.
Lahore.